The Subtle Subversion

The State of

Curricula and Textbooks

in Pakistan

Urdu, English, Social Studies and Civics

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PREFACE

Part I

This report is the result of a study conducted by SDPI with the help of a number of educationists and concerned citizens of the country in the year 2002. The study looked into the then in force curriculum documents and school textbooks as well as those curriculum documents that were most recently formulated but had not been implemented yet. The objective of the study was to identify problematic contents of textbooks and to ascertain if the curriculum formulation was the source of such contents. The subjects chosen were those which can offer a greater space for political and ideological manipulation.

States quite often use formal education as a tool to disseminate and perpetuate their political messages. In the Pakistani context, the use of education as a political tool intensified after 1971 mainly due to the demands of redefining Pakistan after the political crisis of East Pakistan and emergence of Pakistan as a truncated country. The military government of General Zia ul Haq after the coup in 1977 had its own problem of legitimacy, which it tried to guise in an overarching quest for Islamization of the society. Education was among the first of its victims. Religious political parties became enthusiastic partners in this quest. In the educational sphere, this amounted to a distorted narration of history, factual inaccuracies, inclusion of hate material, a disproportionate inclusion of Islamic studies in other disciplines, glorification of war and the military, gender bias, etc. Subsequent governments either failed to check these harmful deviations, or willingly perpetuated them.

This study is by no means the first to point out these issues. The civil society of Pakistan reacted almost immediately to the Zia government's policies of Islamization of education. A number of educationists wrote articles, research papers and books highlighting the way in which the educational space was being usurped by blatant indoctrination. The first question they addressed was regarding distortions in history, and the contributions of Pervez Hoodbhoy, K. K. Aziz, I. A. Rahman, Mubarak Ali, and A. H. Nayyar were noteworthy. The first known work on the deliberate distortion of history for ideological

reasons was from Pervez Hoodbhoy and A. H. Nayyar[1], pointing out the policy directive that had brought about the change and the subsequent distortions entering the Pakistan Studies textbooks, the foremost target of the process of Islamization of education. Soon thereafter, the Lahore-based Society for the Advancement of Education (SAHE) produced a report in 1986 on Pakistan's curriculum based on a countrywide consultation involving a number of eminent educationists of the country[2].

Mubarak Ali, through his thought provoking works, brought forth the distortions, inaccuracies and biases in textbooks through his books[3], newspaper articles[4] and booklets both in English and Urdu.

K.K. Aziz also pointed out errors in history textbooks in a chapter of his book *Historians of Pakistan*, published in the early 90s[5]. In another famous book on the subject, *Murder of History in Pakistan*, Professor Aziz analysed in detail 66 school textbooks and identified historical errors and inaccuracies[6].

Renowned human rights activist and journalist, I. A. Rahman has also touched upon the issue of historical distortion in textbooks regarding the tragedy of 1971 (Fall of Dhaka)[7].

The earliest work on gender bias in textbooks emerged from Simorgh and Aurat Foundation, NGO's that specialize in women related issues.[8]

In 1993 Rubina Saigol conducted a content analysis of language and social studies textbooks to find out the amount of hate material, and nationalistic and militaristic ideologies packed in the textbooks. In her Ph.D. thesis in the early nineties and subsequently in her various research papers, books and monographs, she conducted a detailed analysis of social studies, civics, history and Pakistan Studies textbook. She also identified such additional categories of problems in curriculum and textbooks as 'glorification of the military', and did a comparative analysis of textbooks from the pre-Ayub period, Ayub era and the Bhutto era.[9]

Several other writers also highlighted the issues, among them were Tariq Rahman[10],

1 *Re-writing the History of Pakistan*, in *Islam, Politics and the State: The Pakistan Experience*, Ed. Mohammad Asghar Khan, Zed Books, London, 1985).

2 *Pakistan Curriculum Jungle*, *An analysis emerging out of the SAHE consultation on the undergraduate core curriculum in Pakistan*, Ed. Hamid Kizilbash, SAHE, Lahore, 1986.

3 For example *Tareekh aur Roshni,* Nigarshat Lahore 1986; *In the Shadow of History*, Nigarshat, Lahore; *History on Trial,* Fiction House, Lahore, 1999; *Tareekh Aur Nisabi Kutub*, Fiction House, Lahore, 2003.

4 For example, *'Heroes and Democracy'* and *Akbar in Pakistani Textbooks*

5 *Historians of Pakistan*, K. K. Aziz, Vanguard Books, Lahore, 1993.

6 *Murder of History in Pakistan*, K. K. Aziz, Vanguard Books, Lahore, 1993

7 The Frontier Post, December 13, 1991, Lahore.

8 *School Texts*, Nasreen Shah, in *Reinventing Women – the Representation of Women in the Media during the Zia* Years, Ed. Maha Malik and Neelum Hussain, Simorgh Publications, 1985; *Gender bias in Urdu Textbooks in Punjab, Class I – V*, Aurat Publications, 1989.

9 Her work is spread in *Education: Critical Perspectives* (Progressive, 1993), *The Boundaries of Consciousness: Interface between the Curriuclum*, *Gender and Nationalism*; *Knowledge and Identity – Articulation of Gender in Educational Discourse in Pakistan*, ASR, Lahore, 1995; *Qaumiat, Taleem aur Shanakht*, Fiction House, Lahore, 1997; *Symbolic Violence* (appeared in *Locating the Self*, ASR, Lahore, 1994), *'History, Social Studies and Civics and the Creation of Enemies'* in Akbar Zaidi, Social Sciences in the 1990s (2003), and in the various issues of the journal *Tareekh*, Ed. Mubarak Ali, Lahore

10 *Language, Ideology and Power: Language Learning among the Muslims of Pakistan and North India*, Tariq Rahman, Oxford University Press, Karachi, 2002

Khurshid Hasanain[11], Yvette Rosser[12], Ahmed Salim[13] Zafarullah Khan[14] and Ajmal Kamal[15]. Shaheed Zulfikar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology (SZABIST) brought out a collective study on the contents of Pakistan Studies textbooks from school to the university level.[16] More recently, The Social Policy and Development Centre, Karachi has published a comprehensive report[17] on the state of education in Pakistan containing also a critique of the learning material.

What was happening to Pakistani school curriculum and textbooks was also happening to the learning material in India. While it was Islamization in Pakistan, it was communalization of education in India, which in effect was an effort at Hinduization of education. The Indian civil society and academia was as much, if not more, alive to the disturbing trend as its counterpart in Pakistan. The earliest work criticising distortion of History in Indian textbooks to provoke communal hatred was *Tareekh ke saath Khalwar*[18], published in 1988. This book included studies and papers read in a seminar held in Patna. Two civil society organisations stand out as the torch bearers against communalization of education; Communalism Combat, a periodical edited by the award winning activist Teesta Setalvad[19], and Safdar Hashmi Memorial Trust (SAHMAT)[20]. Among the more well-known works is the recently published *Prejudice and Pride* by Krishna Kumar[21], which discusses in detail the distortion of facts and communal elements in Indian and Pakistani textbooks. The Delhi Historian' Group published an analysis of history textbooks in India[22]. Political parties have also written on the ideological onslaught of the extremists.[23]

Part II

Why was a new study on state of curricula and textbooks needed? There were several reasons. First, new textbooks are published almost every year, and it was essential to see if the most recent ones also contained the same objectionable material both in terms of inaccuracies as well as pedagogical slant and style. Second, the Curriculum Wing of

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11 *Conflict and Violence in the Educational Process,* Khurshid Hasanain and A. H. Nayyar, in *Making Enemies, Creating Conflict: Pakistan's Crises of State and Society*', edited by Zia Mian and Iftikhar Ahmad, Mashal, Lahore, 1997.

12 *Hegemony and Historiography: The Politics of Pedagogy,* Yvette Rosser, The Asian Review, Dhaka, 1997.

13 *Enemy Images In The Textbooks*, Ahmad Salim, in *Kashmir: What Next?* by Friedrich Nauman-Stiftung, Islamabad, October 2001; *Enemy Images In The School Textbook, 1947-2000*, Ahmad Salim and Zafrullah Khan, SDPI's Draft Report, April 2003.

14 *Ideas on Democracy, Freedom and Peace in Textbooks*, an advocacy document against hate speech by Future Youth Group, Islamabad, May 2002.

15 *Censorship in Pakistani Urdu Textbooks*, Ajmal Kamal, presented at the Annual Sustainable Development Conference, Islamabad, 2003. Also available at http://www.urdustudies.com/pdf/10/16censorship.pdf

16 *Pakistan Studies – Facts and Fiction*, a study conducted by Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology, Karachi, 2002.

17 *The State of Education*, Social Development in Pakistan, Annual Review 2002-2003, SPDC, Karachi, 2002

18 *Tareekh ke saath Khalwar*, Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna, 1988

19 *How Textbooks Teach Prejudice*, Teesta Setalvad, Subrang Communications and Publishing, 2001, and Communalism Combat 15 June, 2003

20 *The Saffron Agenda in Education: An Expose*, Nalini Taneja, SAHMAT, New Delhi, 2001; The *Assault on History*, SAHMAT, New Delhi, 2002; *Against Communalism of Education*, SAHMAT, New Delhi, 2002; *Plagiarised and Communalised: more on the NCERT Textbooks*, SAHMAT, New Delhi

21 *Prejudice and Pride : School Histories of the Freedom Struggle in India and Pakistan*, Krishna Kumar, Viking, New Delhi, 2001.

22 *Communalization of Education: History Textbooks*, Delhi Historians' Group, New Delhi, 2001

23 *Against Communalisation of Education* (CPI-M); *Resist the Communalisation of Education*; *Resist BJP Assault on School Education* (Communist Party Publications, 2002)

the Ministry of Education was revising all the curricula in the spring of 2002, and it was essential to analyse them too.

Third, none of the earlier studies appeared to have had any impact on either the government policies or the public discourse on education. Generation after generation was being lost to bad education, yet providing quality education was never on the political agenda of the country. The problems needed to be highlighted in their true severity to bring the issues into the domain of public debate. Lastly, it was also deemed essential to make a collective study in order to bring together all the various perspectives from which individual analysts had looked at the educational material.

The initiative at SDPI was taken by A. H. Nayyar and Ahmed Salim and joined in by Mohsin Babbar, Ayesha Inayat and Aamna Mattu. A research project was developed and such educationists who had expressed their opinion on the issue were invited to be a part of it. They were university professors, school and college teachers, and members of civil society organisations in the private sector. Their names are listed in ….. Two 2-day workshops were held. In the first workshop, ideas were formulated, areas of focus were defined, and tasks assigned to the program participants to take home and bring back their studies in the second workshop three weeks later. It was also decided to focus only on the subjects of Social Studies, Pakistan Studies, Urdu, English and Civics. Most of the participants brought their in-depth studies of the learning material in the second workshop. Their contributions, which were scrutinised and discussed in detail collectively, have become the source of the contents of this report. While everyone had something to contribute, some like Rubina Saigol, Neelum Hussain, Seema Pervez, Zarina Salamat, Haroon Nasir, to name a few, contributed more than others. Among them too, the well-focused written contributions of Rubina Saigol formed the mainstay of several chapters of this report. The second workshop also assigned the task of preparing detailed analyses based on the collective contributions to some participants. These appear in the report as chapters in the name(s) of the writer(s).

Indeed not all the material pointed out by the participants was new. Since much of the material in textbooks is repeated in newer editions, there was to be an inevitable overlap with earlier works on the subject, particularly because many of the participants had themselves written extensively on the issue. Similarly, although the group looked into the most recent curriculum documents, there was to be an inevitable large overlap between the problematic material pointed out in earlier studies and the one in this report.

After completion, the first draft report was shared with some friends for review and improvements, and the draft report released on 16 June 2003. The report has been widely commented on in the press in Pakistan, India and elsewhere. The extraordinary attention this report has received as compared to more scholarly works earlier may have been a result of the special circumstances Pakistan is facing since September 2001.

The final report at hand is a reviewed and edited version of the draft report. Hopefully, our findings and suggestions will help improve the educational material in Pakistan.

SUMMARY

Pakistan's public education system has an important role in determining how successful we shall be in achieving the goal of a progressive, moderate and democratic Pakistan. A key requirement is that children learn to understand and value this goal and cherish the values of truthfulness, honesty, responsibility, equality, justice, and peace that go with it.

Children's identities and value systems are strongly shaped by the national curricula and textbooks in Social Studies, English, Urdu and Civics from Class I to Class XII. The responsibility for designing them lies with the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education and the provincial Text Book Boards. The Curriculum Wing is mandated to design all pre-university curricula and issue guidelines to textbook writers and school teachers. Provincial Textbook Boards commission writing of textbooks and get them printed after their contents are approved by the Curriculum Wing.

A close analysis by a group of independent scholars shows that for over two decades the curricula and the officially mandated textbooks in these subjects have contained material that is directly contrary to the goals and values of a progressive, moderate and democratic Pakistan.

The March 2002 revision of curricula undertaken by the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education did not address the problems that existed in earlier curriculum documents. In some cases, these problems are now even worse.

Our analysis found that some of the most significant problems in the current curricula and textbooks are:

- Inaccuracies of fact and omissions that serve to substantially distort the nature and significance of actual events in our history.
- Insensitivity to the existing religious diversity of the nation
- Incitement to militancy and violence, including encouragement of *Jehad* and *Shahadat*
- Perspectives that encourage prejudice, bigotry and discrimination towards fellow citizens, especially women and religious minorities, and other towards nations.
- A glorification of war and the use of force
- Omission of concepts, events and material that could encourage critical self-awareness among students

- Outdated and incoherent pedagogical practices that hinder the development of interest and insight among students

To give a few examples:

The books on Social Studies systematically misrepresent events that have happened throughout the Pakistan's history, including those which are within living memory of many people.

This history is narrated with distortions and omissions. The causes, effects, and responsibility for key events are presented so as to leave a false understanding of our national experience. A large part of the history of South Asia is also omitted, making it difficult to properly interpret events, and narrowing the perspective that should be open to students. Worse, the material is presented in ways that encourage the student to marginalize and be hostile towards other social groups and people in the region.

The curricula and textbooks are insensitive to the religious diversity of the Pakistani society. While learning of Islamiat is compulsory for Muslim students, on average over a quarter of the material in books to teach Urdu as a language is on one religion. The books on English have lessons with religious content. Islamiat is also taught in Social Studies classes. Thus, the entire is heavily laden with religious teachings, reflecting a very narrow view held by a minority among Muslims that all the education should be essentially that of Islamiat.[24]

There is a strong current of exclusivist and divisive tendencies at work in the subject matter recommended for studies in the curriculum documents as well as in textbooks. Pakistani nationalism is repeatedly defined in a manner that excludes non-Muslim Pakistanis from either being Pakistani nationals or from even being good human beings. Much of this material runs counter to any efforts at national integration.

The Constitution of Pakistan is cited but misinterpreted, in making the reading of the Qur'an compulsory in schools. The Constitution requires the compulsory reading of the Qur'an for Muslim students alone, but in complete disregard of this restriction, it is included in the textbooks of a compulsory subject like Urdu which is to be read by students of all religions. The Class III Urdu textbook has 7 lessons on Nazra Qur'an and its translations. The Urdu and Social Studies curricula even ask for all the students to be taught Islamic religious practices like *Namaz* and *Wuzu*.

Besides severe pedagogical problems like uneven standards of lessons in books on English and Urdu languages and bad English even in the English language books, glaring contradictions exist in books on Social Studies. Together, these factors make it almost impossible for students to develop critical and analytical skills.

The curriculum as well as textbooks excessively emphasize the "Ideology of Pakistan" which is a post-independence construction devised to sanctify their politics of those political forces which were initially inimical to the creation of Pakistan

Most of the textbook problems cited above have their origin in two sources: (1) curriculum documents and syllabi and (2) the instructions to textbook authors issued

24 Education and the Muslim World: Challenge and Response. Recommendations of the Four World Conferences on Islamic Education, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, 1995.

from the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education. As long as the same institutions continue to devise curricula, the problems will persist. Repeated interventions from the post-1988 civilian governments failed to overcome the institutional resistance.

The problems are further accentuated when the authors of textbooks produce books that are heavily laden with doctrinal material and devoid of much useful instructional content. The provincial textbook boards are to be held squarely responsible for repeatedly failing to produce textbooks that are useful and interesting to students.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Education reform will need to start with a clear understanding of the roots of the present crisis and a detailed plan of action that includes, where necessary, altering both the structure and content of the appropriate parts of the education decision-making and implementation bureaucracy. If the reforms are to succeed, they will require clear milestones to measure progress and independent oversight to keep the process on track and deal with the problems that will inevitably arise from such an effort.

Our work suggests that fundamental reforms are urgently needed in:

- the Ministry of Education, the Curriculum Wing, and the Textbook Boards.
- the national curriculum, and
- textbooks in key subjects

Independent oversight of these reforms could best be realised by using the considerable expertise and experience in education management.

New educational materials should be developed in partnership with citizens' groups and private education providers. Making available a multiple choice of learning material will also help generate a healthy competition for producing pedagogically better and more interesting textbooks.

Proposed Structural Reforms

Establish a National Education Advisory Board

Made up of leading academics and public and private educationists, this new body would exercise and encourage independent oversight over education planning and provision.

The National Education Advisory Board would have as its mandate:

- to encourage, fund, coordinate and publish research on the state of education in Pakistan.
- to develop annual proposals for improving public education.
- to hold public hearings, investigate complaints and publish recommendations about the provision of education.
- to submit an annual National Education Report to Parliament.

Abolish the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education

The National Education Advisory Board would be charged with overseeing leading public and private educationists in primary and secondary education, child psychology, pedagogy, and academic experts in respective disciplines in developing a new curriculum for public education.

Abolish textbook boards

The Education Advisory Board would oversee replacement, as soon as feasible, of all existing textbooks, where possible, with best available books in market that are free from problems identified here. It would commission and approve new textbooks to be phased in as they become available.

Guidelines for Reforming the National Curriculum

The use of public education as a means of national and social indoctrination for political ends has created deep social problems and encouraged the development of a more violent polity. This needs to be reversed.

Our study of the curriculum and textbooks for Social/ Pakistan studies, Urdu and English from class I to Class XII leads to a number of specific proposals for the reforms that must be made in the national curriculum if it is to help Pakistan become a more progressive and democratic nation.

We propose that in the curricula and textbooks for these disciplines, changes should be guided by the following principles:

1. Falsehoods, distortions and omissions concerning our national history needs to be replaced by accounts of events that are supported by rigorous modern scholarship
2. Material encouraging or justifying discrimination against women, religious and ethnic minorities, and against other nations, should be replaced with the positive values of social equality, mutual respect and responsibility, justice and peace.
3. Arbitrary concepts, incoherence, inconsistency and other pedagogical problems should be replaced by a systematic set of modern ideas about history, geography society and identity based on well-established academic disciplines.

A simple example will be offered here of what might practically be done regarding putting these principles into practice in the national curriculum. Children are presently taught Pakistan Studies as a replacement for the teaching of history and geography as full-fledged disciplines. In the first 25 years of Pakistan, this was not the case. Children at that time were taught the very early history of South Asia, including pre-historic times. The books described in detail the ancient religious mythology of this region, the early great Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms of the Mauriyas and the Guptas, the Muslim conquests and establishment of Muslim sultanates in North India. This long historical perspective of our region is absent in more recent textbooks. Instead, children are now taught that the history of Pakistan starts from the day the first Muslim set foot in India.

The goal should not, however, be a return to a decades old notion of history as the stories of kings and queens, their wars and conquests, and geography as dealing with maps, names and places. These disciplines, like many others, have undergone a profound transformation in other societies. Such changes need to be incorporated if Pakistan's children are to develop the understanding and skills they will need to keep up

with their peers around the world in the twenty-first century. In an age of globalisation, Pakistan's children need to learn about their society in the global geo-political context and to understand how their history, geography and identity are inextricably linked to that of many others.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In his August 14, 2002, independence day speech to the nation, President General Pervez Musharraf identified 'sectarianism, religious intolerance and violence' as a major crisis facing Pakistan. He explained that there is an:

> *"insignificant minority [that] has held the entire nation hostage to their misconceived views of Islam and fanatical acts of terrorism. They are spreading the malice of sectarianism laced with poison of religious intolerance and violence. The recent attacks specially directed at the places of worship of our Christian brothers and sisters are the most shameful and despicable example of terrorism. All this in the name of Islam, these misled criminals and the terrorists patrons and tutors even have the audacity to think their actions are the route to Jannat. …We all have to put in a joint effort to root out those who are maligning our religion and tarnishing the image of Pakistan while imagining themselves to be ultra-Islamists. There are no quick fix solutions to the problem of sectarianism and extremism, they are to be tackled in a systematic and methodical manner."*

He identified law enforcement and strengthening the security apparatus as the ways to tackle the problem, and called on the ulema, mashaikh and religious parties, etc., to help combat the "the problem of sectarianism and extremism". What he did not identify was how and why the ideas and values have emerged that are inspiring these "ultra-Islamists", or how widely-shared these values are in the society at large.

The problems identified by General Musharraf have in large part been the result of children being educated into ways of thinking that makes them susceptible to a violent and exclusionary worldview open to 'sectarianism and religious intolerance." There is a need to reform the educational system that produces this worldview.

Madrassas in Pakistan have recently been a focus of world attention for creating this kind of exclusionary and sectarian worldview. The religious education mixed with militancy is supposed to be the deadly mix, giving rise to the narrow vision that breeds hate and irrationality and results in the international jehad. This however is not entirely true. Madrassas are not the only institutions breeding hate, intolerance, a distorted worldview, etc. The educational material in the

government run schools do much more than madrassas. The textbooks tell lies, create hatred, inculcates militancy, and much more.

In May 2002, a group of academics were gathered by SDPI to examine the curricula and textbooks that are presently being used in public schools. The group investigated curriculum documents and textbooks in the disciplines of Social Studies/ Pakistan studies, Urdu English and Civics from class I to Class XII. It is in these four disciplines that students are exposed to the issues of religious and national identity, tolerance and social relationships that shape their worldview. Classes I to XII were chosen because the curricula and textbooks are all prepared for them by the same institutions, namely the Curriculum Wing of the Government of Pakistan, and the Provincial Textbook Boards. These institutions are primarily responsible for the character and content of the educational material that determines what happens in classrooms across the country.

The gathered academics shared the view that the curriculum encourages ideas that are incompatible with the ideals of Pakistan as a forward looking modern state committed to equal rights and equitable treatment for its citizens. Moreover, the textbooks are factually inaccurate, poorly written, pedagogically unsound and contain material harmful to young impressionable minds. This report is a result of the group's research and analysis on the specific problems with existing curriculum documents, guidelines and textbooks. By analyzing in detail the national curriculum and the textbooks in a number of subject areas, we hope to inform the debate on education reform and establish the nature and level of changes that will need to be made if the educational system is to be reformed so that it serves to create a more enlightened society.

Experience shows that attention to detail, clear milestones and independent oversight will be needed to achieve successful reform of the Ministry of Education, The Curriculum Wing, and the Textbook Boards. In order to contribute to this process, we propose detailed criteria for reforming the national curriculum and for revision textbooks in key subjects and evaluating success. We propose that independent oversight of the reforms could be realized should the government wish to take advantage of the considerable expertise and experience in education management and in the development of educational materials among civil society groups and private education providers.

Education Policy and Reform It has been suggested that the concept of providing education has changed over the decades, originating as a social service in the pre-1958 period, being a developmental need during Ayub Khan's rule, and a fundamental right during the Bhutto regime from 1972 to 1977. We, however, show below that throughout this period, and even in the early days of independence, there was an insistence that Islam was to inform the education system. This undercurrent blew itself into full during the dictatorship of General Zia-ul-Haq from which time education has been taken to serve as a means of indoctrination, with the public education system promoting an official vision of Pakistan as a fundamentalist Islamic society and state.

Governments everywhere use education to further the process of nation building. Through the teaching of history, language and social sciences, children are taught what the state and society believe should be part of their shared identity and perspective for understanding the world. Likewise, in Pakistan, the education system from the very beginning has been aimed at re-enforcing one particular view of Pakistani nationalism and identity, namely that Pakistan is an Islamic state rather than a country with a majority Muslim population. This came about partly due to the insecurity that the newborn nation was facing, and partly because of the emphasis on the "two-nation theory" as the basis for Pakistani identity. These combined to produce the need for a

singular homogeneous majoritarian Muslim identity that could be sharply differentiated from that of India, even though it meant suppressing the many different shades within Pakistan.

The First Educational Conference was called by the Government of Pakistan in 1947. The Federal Minister for Education underscored the direction that was to be taken by the education in the new state. Among the three issues of priority, the foremost was to have an educational system that was inspired by Islamic ideology[25]. It was to prove a fateful decision.

The development of the education system was also shaped by the available resources. Within the first decade of Pakistan coming into being, the civil bureaucracy and the military emerged as the most powerful interest groups in government, resulting in a centralized policy-making structure, and a system of resource allocation to education and health. Barely 4% of GDP was allocated annually for education, health and social sectors, a bulk of which went to the urban centers anyway.[26] There was also a clear preference for funding higher education over primary education.

During the military rule of Ayub Khan, a National Commission for Education was established in 1959, whose report was adopted as the National Education Policy. The responsibility for primary education was transferred to provincial governments. During the second 5-year plan (1960-65), primary and secondary curricula were revised, and "much emphasis was laid on Islamic studies and religious education"[27]. The promised financial allocations were severely cut down due to the 1965 war with India. The New Education Policy of 1969 aimed at minimizing the wide gap between the traditional madrassah system and the general system of education.

Following the separation of East Pakistan, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's government embarked on reforming education but remained committed to "designing curricula relevant to the nation's changing social and economic needs compatible with our basic ideology…"[28]. During Bhutto's time, educational policy, planning, curriculum and syllabi, books, centers of excellence and Islamic education were placed on the concurrent legislative list, which implied the decentralization of these activities.

Soon after his coup in 1977, General Zia-ul-Haq called a national education conference, the goals and objectives of which were "to redefine the aims of education, choose basic strategies, ascertain the main problems in education confronting the nation, and to bring education in line with Pakistani faith and ideology".[29] The direction, again, was clear. General Zia said in his inaugural speech: "Our curriculum must ensure that our children are brought up educated as good Pakistanis and good Muslims. They must imbibe the lofty ideals and principles of Islam."[30]

Under the new policy, the subject of Islamiat was made compulsory at all levels of education up to BA, teaching of Arabic was made compulsory in all schools to students of all religions, great emphasis was placed on the Ideology of Pakistan, the madrassah education was encouraged by declaring madrassah certificates equivalent to normal university degrees.

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25 Ministry of Interior, Government of Pakistan, Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational Conference: November 27 – December 1, 1947 (Karachi, Economic Division) quoted by Nasir Jalil in The State and Education: The Political Economy of Education Development in Pakistan from 1958 to 1988, Ph. D. Thesis, Harward University, 1996.
26 Nasir Jalil quoting Omar Noman
27 ibid p 167
28 New Education Policy, 1972-80, quoted in Nasir Jalil, p 220
29 ibid p. 272
30 Inaugural speech of General Zia-ul-Haq at the National Education Conference, 1977, quoted by Nasir Jalil, p. 273

This effort formed part of the larger process of Islamization, in which the government imposed several laws including the blasphemy law and the Hudood ordinance, the system of zakat and ushr, established shariat courts. It also started a major process of Islamising the education system by bringing in radical religious ideologues from political parties sympathetic to the dictatorship to devise new curricula and to ensure that textbooks were consistent with these guidelines.

Following the restoration of democracy in 1988, the two major political parties, the Pakistan Muslim League and the Pakistan Peoples Party ruled alternately – twice each – until the 1999 military coup of General Musharraf. The two parties had different levels of commitment to the Islamization process initiated by General Zia-ul-Haq, and hence different perceptions on the role and utility of the doctrinal contents of curricula and textbooks.

The Muslim League was firmly in favour of the Islamist agenda. It was about to bring in a constitutional amendment for the imposition of Islamic Shariah when the government of Nawaz Sharif was dismissed by the military coup of October 1999. With such a strong commitment, the Sharif government was not likely to change the process of Islamization of education. In fact, the National Education Policy 1998-2010 prepared by his government was intended to:

> ".. provide guidelines on strengthening the ideological frontiers of Pakistan, based on Islamic teachings and to equip the nation with required knowledge and skills."[31]

The policy made Nazra Qur'an compulsory from Class-I and learning the Qur'an with translation from Class -IV. Islamiat was made compulsory from Class-I to BA/BSc level. Not surprisingly, there was little effort to change the Zia era curriculum or establish a new set of requirements for textbooks.

Although Benazir Bhutto's government was less committed to Islamization, attempts to undo the ideological content of education during her two tenures were neither well-organised, given high priority, nor subject to scrutiny. It seems the Islamist groups within the educational bureaucracy were able to successfully resist such attempts. The bureaucracy showed how by using its command of details and procedures, which politicians lack when they take office and often never acquire, they could resist long enough for the Minister to either lose interest or be replaced.

The military government of General Pervez Musharraf embarked on an ambitious plan to reform the education sector following his unambiguous proclamation against religious extremism. A comprehensive Education Sector Reform (ESR) Action Plan has now been prepared, and has also been approved by the President.[32] It seeks to reform all the sectors of education, and supports the reform process by a commitment to raise the expenditure on education to an unprecedented 3% of GDP.

However, the ESR Action Plan acknowledges that it is "cast in the long term perspective of the 1998-2010 National Education Policy" made by the Nawaz Sharif government.[33] Although the Action Plan requires a review of curricula,[34] the post-reform curricula and textbooks continue to have the same problems as the earlier ones. Reform has not been substantive. It seems clear that unless there is a much greater priority given to a fundamental change in curricula and

31 The National Educational Policy, 1998 - 2010

32 Education Sector Reform Action Plan, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, January 2002. Also available on the URL: http://www.moe.gov.pk/moe-reform.htm .

33 Education Sector Reform Action Plan 2002, page ix

34 Education Sector Reform Action Plan 2002, section 3.4

textbooks, Pakistani children will continue to be educated in bigotry, violence and hate, as they have been during the last 20 years.

To understand the failure of reform efforts, it is important to examine the organisation of education in Pakistan. Pakistan has a centralized system of formulating education policies and curricula, perfectly suitable for ideological indoctrination. While the Ministry of Education formulates education policies, the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry formulates the national curricula, an exercise which is the sole prerogative of this central authority. Textbooks are prepared according to the curricula and guidelines made by the Curriculum Wing, and are the responsibility of provincial textbook boards, each of which has its own standing list of textbook authors.

This has created numerous problems in the educational system. In its reform efforts the government issues broad guidelines. The education bureaucracy is able to interpret these in arbitrary ways and the many compartments of the bureaucracy are tasked to generate the necessary details that turn policy into practice. The continuities between the many national curriculums over the past several decades suggest that the Curriculum Wing, removed from direct oversight through several layers of educational bureaucracy, is largely able to ensure that no substantive changes are made.[35] Unfamiliar with the details of previous education planning documents or the process of policy making within the Ministry, education Ministers are unable to intervene effectively.

The Curriculum Wing lays down criteria for the Provincial Textbook Boards, which have a monopoly on authorising books for use in public schools in their respective province. The monopoly allows the Textbook Boards to act as ideological gatekeepers, making sure that only what they see as ideologically acceptable gets into classrooms. The frequent re-writing and publishing of textbooks is also a way for the Boards to exercise power over authors and ensure they conform to the guidelines. The 'approved' authors in their bid to be accepted, go much farther on doctrinal matters than is demanded by curriculum.

The monopoly also gives rise to corruption in the boards in various forms, as well as cartels of textbooks writers. There are badly written and printed books, but students and teachers are forced to use them. The books are very frequently changed, making it impossible for poor parents to buy second hand books[36], although the new books would often be only marginally different from the old ones.

Under the new policy, textbooks by private authors and publishers will be acceptable provided they are approved by the Curriculum Wing. This is unlikely to change anything. Without a new approach to reform, it is hard to see how these problems can be solved.

New Directions

In June 2002, SDPI invited leading experts on Pakistan's education system to examine and report on the problems of the national curriculum and textbooks, with a view to understanding the books' contribution to creating a culture of sectarianism, religious intolerance, and violence. They were mostly academics, with varied fields of specialization, from universities, colleges and schools of sciences and arts, as well as people with experience of working in educational

35 For some of the subjects, the most recent curriculum documents to be found are from 1984 to 1988, as seen in the list in Appendix I. Textbooks until the year 2002 were written on the basis of these.

36 It was common until the seventies for students to give away or cheaply sell their used textbooks to junior students. Some organizations like the Students Welfare Organisation, Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi, used to launch annual campaigns of collecting used books and distributing freely to indigent students.

planning and management, and in the private sector. The list of persons is attached at the end of the report (Appendix III).

The first workshop was held in SDPI on 7 and 8 June 2002. It was determined that the totality of problems in education were so large in number, so diverse, and spread over so many themes, subjects and classes, that the workshop participants should focus on a subset of these issues and look for problems associated in four key areas taught to Classes I to XII: Social/Pakistan Studies, Urdu and English and Civics.

The participants decided to independently investigate curriculum documents and textbooks of these subjects and classes with regard to several agreed-upon themes. Their findings were presented at the second workshop on 27 and 28 June. The present report has been compiled from these discussions.

The workshops assessed the national curriculum for the following:

- Factual inaccuracies and omissions for ideological ends
- Religious, national and ethnic prejudices
- Gender stereotypes
- Glorification of war
- Peace and tolerance
- Pedagogical problems

The choice of issues reflects the widely shared sense that many key problems in contemporary Pakistani society can be traced to these root causes. For instance, the teaching of history has been shaped by a desire to create and impose a particular view of the existence and nature of the Pakistani nation. In many cases, the history taught to children has been invented, omitted or distorted to serve political and ideological ends. This even includes falsification of events that have taken place in living memory, which are then presented as matters of fact.[37]

The distortion of history has increasingly warped Pakistan's view of both self and others for decades. Each generation has twisted further the facts it passes to the next. This has served to create a particular worldview that is removed from reality and confounds efforts to understand and properly resolve important social, national and international problems.

Some of the issues that were tracked through the curriculum and the textbooks are of immediate importance. The growing violence in Pakistani society, against religious and ethnic minorities, between Islamic sects, and women, takes a terrible toll. To a large extent this reflects religious and ethnic prejudices and oppressive attitudes towards women that are rife in society and are in turn sanctioned in the educational system. In order to check this violence and discrimination, students need to be taught systematically about openness, tolerance, rights, respect and the virtues and skills of peaceful conflict resolution.

Similarly there are numerous pedagogical problems in school textbooks, the consequences of which on students are enormous. In many books, the main concepts are unclear, arguments lack logic, explanations are lacking, and the emphasis is on rote learning and blind deference to the authority of the teacher and the textbook and the demands of examinations. These are all strong disincentives to curious and questioning minds who seek understanding and truth through objective facts, logical arguments, and debate.

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37 See for example K. K. Aziz, *Murder of History in Pakistan,* , Lahore, 1993; P.A. Hoodbhoy and A. H. Nayyar, *Rewriting the History of Pakistan* in M. Asghar Khan (Ed.) *Islam, Politics and the State, The Pakistan Experience* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1985; and many more

Many of the symptoms described here have been recognised as important by the government of Pakistan over the past year, in particular after the recognition of the need to rid Pakistan of the threat of violence from radical "ultra-Islamist"[38] paramilitaries and to protect and respect the rights of women and minorities. This report shows that much of the contents of Pakistani school curricula and textbooks is clearly incompatible with these goals. Pakistan's government and society cannot hope to eradicate the tendencies that cause profound social harm if at the same time the public education system continues to nurture these very tendencies.

38 In the words of General Pervez Musharraf, as quoted above

CHAPTER 2

Insensitivity to the Religious Diversity of the Nation

A. H. Nayyar

It is quite reasonable to expect that Pakistan as a nation would do its best to impart a sense of belonging and even-handedness to all of its citizens irrespective of their faith, cast and creed. While demanding contributions from all to its development and prosperity, it cannot afford to deny equal status and rights to some on the basis of their faith. Otherwise, those deprived are bound to develop a sense of alienation from the society.

Besides being multi-lingual and multi-ethnic, Pakistan is a multi-religion society. Non-Muslims are a sizeable part of the society. Many of them have contributed enormously to its wellbeing. Names like A. R. Cornelius, Dorab Patel, Sobho Gianchandani, Cecil Choudhry, Bapsi Sidhwa and many others are a source of pride for Pakistan.

Muslim majoritarianism has always existed in Pakistan on account of the population being overwhelmingly Muslim. Not surprisingly, therefore, the culture, the idioms and the manners of the majority gained currency, and in turn got reflected in the educational process. Muslim sensibilities were imposed onto the rest. However, the effort to mould the minds of the young through textbooks is a later phenomenon, having started in earnest since the early eighties with the political agenda of Islamization of the state. Curricula were redesigned and textbooks were rewritten to create a monolithic image of Pakistan as an Islamic state and Pakistani citizens as Muslims only. This clearly teaches young non-Muslim students that they are excluded from the national identity.

One could take this to be a result of the insensitivity of a majority towards the needs and aspirations of minority, as might happen anywhere. Such a majoritarianism is not confined to the religious expression alone. It shows up in national, linguistic and other expressions also. However, since the Muslim majoritarianism was not experienced in the curricula and textbooks in the pre-Islamization period, i.e. before the early 1980s it leads to the conclusion that this has been a result of the process of Islamization.

Muslim majoritarianism in Pakistan amounts to creating an environment for non-Muslims in which (1) they become second-class citizens with lesser rights and privileges, (2) their patriotism becomes suspect, and (3) their contribution to the society is ignored. The result is that they can easily cease to have any stake in the society.

For orthodox Islamists, non-Muslims in an Islamic society that is governed by Islamic laws are *dhimmis*, liable to be levied protection money, *jizyah*, absolved of any military duty, *Jehad*, and doomed to live in an environment of limited rights. Within this belief system, therefore, equal national identity can be denied to religious minorities in Pakistan. The educational process in the form of curricula and textbooks reinforces this denial.

The program of study that was designed under Islamization was in keeping with the philosophy of education of one particular school of Islamic thought which asserts that the entire source of knowledge is what was revealed by Allah and that worldly knowledge must be in the context of the revealed knowledge. It has been argued by Syed Abul A'la Maudoodi of Jama'at-e-Islami that in an Islamic society all that is taught would be in the context of the revealed knowledge, therefore every subject would become Islamiat. A direct outcome of this philosophy of education has been the following basic principle that recurs repeatedly in the Pakistani curriculum documents:

> In the teaching material, no concept of separation between the worldly and the religious be given; rather all the material be presented from the Islamic point of view.[39]

Much of the educational material prepared during the Islamization period was based on this principle, and it continues to guide the educational philosophy and practice even today.[40]

This paper deals specifically with three educational subjects – Social Studies /Pakistan Studies, Urdu and English – which students of all religions are required to learn. Islamiat is, of course, also compulsory, but for Muslim students alone.

These themes are discussed in Part A below. The detailed listing of material from curriculum documents and textbooks is given in Part B.

39 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p. 41.
40 The above statement exists in all the curriculum documents of March 2002.

PART A

Four themes emerge most strongly as constituting the bulk of the curricula and textbooks of the three compulsory subjects.

1. that Pakistan is for Muslims alone;
2. that Islamic teachings, including a compulsory reading and memorization of Qur'an, are to be included in all the subjects, hence to be forcibly taught to all the students, whatever their faith,;
3. that Ideology of Pakistan is to be internalized as faith, and that hate be created against Hindus and India; and
4. students are to be urged to take the path of *Jehad* and *Shahadat.*

We shall elaborate on them one by one.

Pakistanis as Muslims Alone

The process of equating the Muslim and Pakistani identities starts in very early school education. For example, the most recent National Early Childhood Education (ECE) curriculum[41] released in March 2002 requires as an objective

> To nurture in children a sense of Islamic identity and pride in being Pakistani.[42]

There is no mention that this is to be done among Muslim students alone. The suggested material under this objective is all Islamiat that is to be read by pupils of all religions.

For Class IV and V students, the Urdu curriculum requires that

> A feeling be created among students that they are the members of a Muslim nation. Therefore, in accordance with the Islamic tradition, they have to be truthful, honest, patriotic and life-sacrificing mujahids (*janbaz mujahid*)[43]

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41 The National Early Childhood Education Curriculum was developed in early 2002 by the Curriculum Wing of the Government of Pakistan following instructions to this effect from the Education Sector Reform Action Plan, Itself released on January 1, 2002. ECE is the new name for what used to be called the Kachi Class I, the first year of education, equivalent to kindergarten.

42 National Early Childhood Education Curriculum (NECEC), Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, March 2002, page 4

43 ibid, p 41

Or,

> To educate and train the future generations of Pakistan as a true practicing Muslim[44]

Or,

> To develop a sense of pride in being Muslim and Pakistani[45]

Or,

> Knows that national culture is not the local culture or local customs, but that it means the culture the principles of which are laid down by Islam[46]

The textbooks then pick up from this point and express these requirements as follows. The class II Urdu book has a lesson on "Our Country", the first sentences of which read:

> Our country is Pakistan. We live in our country. Pakistan is an Islamic country. Here Muslims live. Muslims believe in the unity of Allah. They do good deeds. ..[47]

The Class 6 book says:

> Who am I? I am a Muslim. I am a Pakistani. I love my country and I love my people. … You know that you are a Muslim and your religion is Islam.[48]

It conveys the message that being a Pakistani is equated with being a Muslim, and that only Muslims are true Pakistani citizens. Patriotism has been equated with Islamic zeal. The way it has been said clearly alienates religious minorities.

Compulsory Teaching of Islamiat to Non-Muslim Students

The educational material attempts to teach Islamiat to all the students irrespective of their faith through the compulsory subjects of Social/Pakistan Studies, Urdu and English. Although non-Muslims are not required to take the fourth compulsory subject of Islamiat, there is an extraordinary incentive for them in the form of 25% additional marks for learning and taking examinations in Islamiat.

The curricula of all these subjects require every Pakistani, irrespective of his (her) faith, to love, respect, be proud of and practice Islamic principles, traditions, customs, rituals, etc., Both the curricula and textbooks are enlightening in this respect. The National Early Childhood Education Curriculum (NECEC) would like to impart to the primary school children, and not just to Muslim children, the following 'life skills'[49]:

- Use greetings such as Assalam-o-Alaikum
- Know when to say "Bismillah"
- Recite the first Kalemah and understand its meaning
- Name the five daily prayers
- Learn about Ramadhan and Eidain

44 National Curriculum English (Compulsory) for Class XI-XII, March 2002, p 7
45 National Curriculum CIVICS for classes XI – XII, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002, p 10
46 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 52
47 Meri Kitab, for Class II, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, October 2001, p 36.
48 English Class 6, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 35 - 37
49 NECEC, pages 6 and 19

The primary education curriculum of 1995 lays down the following objective in the Urdu curriculum:To create awareness of and love for Islamic beliefs, and to bring up children according to Islamic values.[50]

Or,

Be proud of Islamic way of life, and try to acquire and adopt Islamic teachings[51]

Or,

Should try to adopt principles of Islamic way of living[52]

Or,

To participate in *Salat ba Jamat* in mosques, to develop a sense of respect for Muezzin and Imam[53]

Or,

Read Qur'an, and respect it[54]

Or,

Listen to the events from Islamic history and derive pleasure from them[55]

Or,

- Should try to adopt principles of Islamic way of living
- Respect for Islamic beliefs and practices
- study religious books in order to understand Qur'anic teachings
- respect Islamic or national customs and urge others to do the same
- …. To love Islamic traditions
- In the textbooks, such subjects be included in sufficient numbers that emphasise …, the importance and greatness of Islam
- Arrange functions/ events on Islamic and national themes, and students be asked to memorize such poems, …, etc., that express national and Islamic sentiments

And the list is unending.

The Urdu language curriculum even prescribes lessons. A small sample follows[56]:

Class IV
Suggestions on preparing textbooks

3 Topics of books
  a. Events from the life of the Holy Prophet, His family, and Islamic leaders (Imams)
  b. Stories from the history of Islam
  c. True friendship (from the life of Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique)
  d. …, Islamic preachers, …
  e. Famous women of Islam

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50 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, pages 21, 27, 36, 42, etc
51 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, page 48
52 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 52
53 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 8
54 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, page 48
55 Curriculum Document, page 48
56 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 54 - 56

f. Golden quotes (sayings of the Muslim thinkers, religious scholars and spiritual leaders)

Class V

3 Topics for lessons
   a. Events from the life of the Holy Prophet, His family and Islamic leaders
   b. Stories of Imams and the Prophet's companions (sacrifice: from the life of Hazrat Usman)
   c. Stories about the Pakistan movement, eminent personalities of Pakistan, and martyrs of Pakistan
   d. Simple stories to urge for *Jehad*
   e. Unity of the Islamic world

It is worth noting that the most recent Urdu textbooks in Punjab and the Federal Area have religious (Islamic) contents in the following proportion: (full details are given in Part B of this chapter)

Class I[57]	4 out of 25 lessons
Class II[58]	8 out of 33 lessons
Class II[59]	22 out of 44 lessons
Class III[60]	23 out of 51 lessons
Class IV[61]	10 out of 45 lessons
Class V[62]	7 out of 34 lessons
Class VI[63]	14 out of 46 lessons
Class VII[64]	16 out of 53 lessons
Class VIII[65]	15 out of 46 lessons
Class IX-X[66]	10 out of 68 lessons

Lesson-wise detail is given in Part B.

Similarly, textbooks on Social Studies, another compulsory subject that starts from Class 3, all have at least 4 chapters on personalities, which are invariably Islamic religious personalities. Note the detail below.

Class III: Chapters on the prophets Adam, Abraham, Jesus and Mohammad (pbuh)[67]
Class IV: Chapters on Prophet Mohammad (pbuh), Hazrat Abu Bakr, Hazrat Umar, and Hazrat Khadija[68]
Class V: Hazrat Fatima (ra), Mohammad bin Qasim, Shah Waliullah[69]

57 Urdu for Class I: Islamabad and the Federal territories, Federal Ministry of Education, GOP, Islamabad
58 Urdu for Class II: Islamabad and the Federal territories, Federal Ministry of Education, GOP, Islamabad
59 Urdu for Class II, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2001
60 Urdu for Class III, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002. Note that Seven of the 19 lessons teach learning to read Qur'an. Also, the idea of selling books of five subjects in one volume forces students of all religions to buy Qur'ani Qaeda. Also note that Qur'ani Qaeda is not a part of the prescribed curriculum.
61 Urdu for Class IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002
62 Urdu for Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002
63 Urdu for Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002
64 Urdu for Class VII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002
65 Urdu for Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002
66 Urdu for Class IX-X, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002
67 Social Studies Class III for Rawalpindi District, Punjab Textbook Board
68 Social Studies Class IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore
69 Social Studies Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002

Thus all non-Muslim students in the mainstream educational system are taught Islamic religious studies. In fact, when the most recent national curriculum document clearly vows

> To make the Qur'anic principles and Islamic practices as an integral part of curricula so that the message of the Holy Qur'an could be disseminated in the process of education as well as training. To educate and train the future generations of Pakistan as a true practicing Muslim who would be able to usher in the 21st century and the next millennium with courage, confidence, wisdom and tolerance[70]

and requires the following as objectives of teaching Urdu language[71]

To create love for religion and respect for personalities

a. must have belief in the Unity of God, and know that Allah is the creator of the universe.
b. Must regard Islamic ways as the best of all
c. Must have reverence for all the messengers of God, Prophet Mohammad (pbuh), His family members, His companions, the Imams and the leaders, and must try to know their teachings and adopt their ways
d. Must maintain affinity (love) with the Islamic world
e. Must respect the leaders, books, places of worship of other religions
f. Must be aware of the blessings of *Jehad*, and must create yearning for *Jehad* in his heart.

it shows itself to be grossly insensitive to the existence and need of non-Muslims among the students.

Compulsory reading of Qur'an: misrepresenting and violating the Constitution of Pakistan

The second, and more disturbing part of this is to make the non-Muslim students read Qur'an, not in Islamiat which they are not required to learn, but in the compulsory subject of Urdu.

Urdu textbooks from Class I to III, which are compulsory for students of all faiths, contain lessons on learning to read Qur'an. Progressing from Class I where Arabic alphabets are introduced in a lesson titled *Iqra*, to the lesson entitled "*E'rab*" on punctuations in Class II Urdu book, to the lessons in Class III Urdu book entitled "*Qur'an Parhna*" (reading the Qur'an), which has seven lessons (out of a total of 51) on learning to read Qur'an. The non-Muslim students must learn these lessons and prepare them for examinations also. Interestingly, these lessons are not prescribed in the Urdu curricula of these classes.

This clearly violates the rights of religious minorities.

The National Curriculum of March 2002 lays down the following as the first objective:

> 2.5.1: "To make the Qur'anic principles and Islamic practices as an integral part of curricula so that the message of the Holy Qur'an could be disseminated in the

70 National Curriculum English (Compulsory) for Class XI-XII, March 2002, p 7
71 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p 13

process of education as well as training. To educate and train the future generations of Pakistan as a true practicing Muslim who ….”[72]

The objective ostensibly follows the National Education policy, which describes it as a constitutional requirement. Let us look at the constitution.

Article 31(2) of the constitution says:

> The state shall endeavour, *as respects the Muslims of Pakistan*, :
> (a) to make the teaching of the Holy Qur'an and Islamiat compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language …; [emphasis added]

Cleary, the learning of the Qur'an and Islamiat is compulsory for Muslims only, and making non-Muslims learn them by including them in compulsory subjects violates the rights of minorities assured in Article 22(1) of the Constitution of Pakistan, which says

"No person attending any educational institution shall be required to receive religious instruction, or take part in any religious ceremony, or attend religious worship, if such instruction, ceremony or worship relates to a religion other than his own".

If by this exercise, the curriculum designers thought that they were popularizing Islam among non-Muslim students, they were sadly mistaken. The only thing they have been able to achieve is to alienate non-Muslim population, at a grave cost to national integration.

Assertion of the Ideology of Pakistan

Many scholars have forcefully argued, with the help of historical record that the term Ideology of Pakistan is a construction that did not exist when Pakistan was created. Justice Munir has very clearly identified the first time when the phrase was coined. In his monograph *From Jinnah to Zia* he writes:

> *The Quaid-i-Azam never used the words "Ideology of Pakistan" … For fifteen years after the establishment of Pakistan, the Ideology of Pakistan was not known to anybody until in 1962 a solitary member of the Jama'at-I-Islami used the words for the first time when the Political Parties Bill was being discussed. On this, Chaudhry Fazal Elahi, who has recently retired as President of Pakistan, rose from his seat and objected that the 'Ideology of Pakistan' shall have to be defined. The member who had proposed the original amendment replied that the 'Ideology of Pakistan was Islam' …*

Thus the phrase Ideology of Pakistan had no historical basis in the Pakistan movement. It was coined much later by those political forces which needed it to sanctify their particular brand of politics, especially by those who had earlier been against the creation of Pakistan. It is no wonder that the Jama'at-i-Islami and other religio-political parties use this phrase extensively.

Although - as Justice Munir has noted, with which any authority on the Quaid-i-Azam would agree - the Quaid never uttered the words Ideology of Pakistan, yet the curriculum

72 National Curriculum English (Compulsory) for Classes XI-XII, March 2002

documents insist that the students be taught that the Ideology of Pakistan was enunciated by the Quaid.

> *The chapter should present the Ideology of Pakistan as enunciated by Quaid-i-Azam and should include relevant documented references*.[73]

Needless to say no textbook has ever been able to cite a single reference to Mr. Jinnah using the term Ideology of Pakistan. On the contrary, his speech to the Constituent Assembly on the 11th of August, 1947 is completely contrary to the so-called 'Ideology of Pakistan' as it is presented. He had said to the legislators who were to prepare the future constitution of the newborn country:

> "We are starting with the fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one state … Now I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal, ad you will find that in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual but in the sense as citizens of the state. … You may belong to any caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the business of the state."

There is no consensus on the term Ideology of Pakistan. It was neither defined nor contained in any constitution of Pakistan, until General Zia-ul-Haq included the term in an order of his military government that was made part of the 1973 constitution through an illegal and questionable process. Even there, Zia-ul-Haq failed to define the term, leaving it to the ideologues to suit it to their politics. It is now often equated with Islamic ideology, with the assertion that Pakistan came into being to enforce Islamic principles of civil life as enshrined in the Shariah. But there is a problem with this interpretation. If this were so, then one cannot explain why most of the orthodox Islamic scholars, including Syed Abul Aala Maududi of Jamat-e-Islami, were against the creation of Pakistan. Regarding the Ideology of Pakistan to be the same as enforcing orthodox Islamic laws is also in direct conflict with the ideas of the founder of Pakistan as quoted above.

It was during the Islamization era of General Zia-ul-Haq that the use of the term was consolidated and made to appear in every aspect of the educational material. A sample of quotations from curriculum documents below shows how this has been sanctified and turned into an article of faith.

> *The Ideology of Pakistan be presented as an accepted reality, and be never subjected to discussion or dispute*[74]
>
> *The Ideology of Pakistan be presented as an accepted reality, and should never be made controversial and debatable.*[75]
>
> *Attempt is made to make the curriculum more representative and responsive to the Ideology of Pakistan and societal needs*[76]

73 Pakistan Studies Curriculum for Classes XI-XII, National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, 1986, p 3

74 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 41

75 Urdu Curriculum (First language) for Classes IV and V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002, p 3

76 National Curriculum CIVICS for classes IX – X, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002, p 4

… so that the Ideology of Pakistan could permeate the thinking of young generation …[77]

Demonstrate an appreciation of the Ideology of Pakistan[78]

find pleasure in the protection of the Ideology of Pakistan, …[79]

Understand Islam and Ideology of Pakistan, and feel them deep in heart[80]

To promote understanding of socioeconomic and socio-cultural aspects of Pakistani society, the Ideology of Pakistan and struggle for Pakistan[81]

Care be taken in the composition and editing of the essays that there ought to come out an angle of propagation of Islam and the Ideology of Pakistan[82]

For speeches, writings and discussions, such topics be chosen that represent positive thinking about Islam and Pakistan, and those topics be avoided that negate or denigrate Islamic values and the Ideology of Pakistan.[83]

Teachers must thoroughly study the Ideology of Pakistan[84]

Understand Islam and Ideology of Pakistan, and feel them deep in heart[85]

Essays creating deep love for Islam and Ideology of Pakistan[86]

To develop a sense of love for the Ideology of Pakistan[87]

Love for Ideology of Pakistan[88]

Enhance a sense of respect for Cooperation and preservation of the Ideology of Pakistan[89]

Cognitive objective: Knowledge of the Ideology of Pakistan[90]

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77 National Curriculum CIVICS for classes XI – XII, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002, p 3
78 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 140
79 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p 8
80 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 58
81 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 6
82 Urdu Curriculum (First language) for Classes IV and V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002, p 25
83 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 44
84 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 44
85 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 58
86 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 61
87 National Curriculum CIVICS for classes IX – X, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002, p 14
88 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 29
89 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 43
90 Social Studies Curriculum for Classes VI – VIII, National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, 1984, p 7

To create sentiments for the protection of the Ideology of Pakistan, love for the country, …[91]

Be able to propagate the important values and traditions of Islam, … and adopt national values in accordance with the Ideology of Pakistan[92]

To create sentiments for love of the country, safeguarding the Ideology of Pakistan, …[93]

deepening the awareness of the Ideology of Pakistan[94]

enable the students to become a responsible, confident and patriot towards the Ideology of Pakistan[95]

To explain Ideology of Pakistan; meaning and nature of Ideology of Pakistan. To demonstrate the faith in Ideology of Pakistan [96]

While writing the textbooks, material contrary to the Ideology of Pakistan which may injure the feelings of different sects, or which may create hatred against any Muslim leading personality may be avoided[97]

We have included so many quotations not for their diversity but for the diverse curriculum documents in which they appear so repeatedly. The purpose seems to be to establish sanctity of the term 'Ideology of Pakistan'. No other political idea has ever been accorded such sanctity. The only beneficiaries of this exercise have been the orthodox Islamic political forces whose politics gets an undue advantage over the others.

It is to be granted that any political force has a right to define the future of the country as suits its political ideology. In this respect, the religious political ideologues are quite in their right to claim that Ideology of Pakistan should be as they define it, and should be the basis of all the policies of the country. What, however, is completely unjustified is (1) to present it as a historical truth, distorting history for this purpose, and (2) making education subservient to their politics.

The problem with stating that the Ideology of Pakistan was inherent in the founding premise of Pakistan is not just that it is historically untrue. An emphasis on it gives a message to non-Muslim Pakistanis that Pakistan is only for Muslims and that they do not have a place in it.

Hate Material

Associated with the insistence on the Ideology of Pakistan has been an essential component of hate against India and the Hindus.

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91 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p 41

92 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p 29

93 Urdu Curriculum (Compulsory, optional and Easy course), Classes IX and X, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1988, p 4

94 English Curriculum for Classes IX-X, National Curriculum Committee, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1986, p 7

95 National Curriculum English (Compulsory) for Class XI-XII, March 2002, p 9

96 National Curriculum CIVICS for classes IX – X, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002, p 15

97 National Curriculum CIVICS for classes IX – X, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002, p 20

For the upholders of the Ideology of Pakistan, the existence of Pakistan is defined only in relation to Hindus, and hence the Hindus have to be painted as negatively as possible.

That the pathological hate against Hindus is only because of adopting the so-called Ideology of Pakistan is borne out by the fact that the pre-Ideology (before the 1970s) textbooks of Pakistan did not contain this hatred. Although a lot of animosity towards Hindus might well have been expected in the newborn Pakistan because of the bloody riots of the partition, the early textbooks in Pakistan, many written after the partition, were free of the pathological hate that we see in textbooks today. For example:

1. The early history books contained chapters on both the oldest civilizations Moen Jo Daro, Harappa, Gandhara, etc., but also the early Hindu mythologies of Ramayana and Mahabharata and extensively covered, often with admiration, the great Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms of the Mauryas and the Guptas.
2. The books indeed showed biases when discussing the more recent history of the politics of independence, but still one found school textbooks with chapters on Mr. M. K. Gandhi, using words of respect for him and admiring him for his qualities.
3. Even in the somewhat biased history of politics of independence, the creation of Pakistan was reasoned on the intransigence of the All India Congress and its leadership rather than on 'Hindu machinations'.
4. Some books also clearly mentioned that the most prominent Islamic religious leaders were all bitterly opposed to the creation of Pakistan.

Such was the enlightened teaching of history for the first twenty five years of Pakistan even though two wars were fought against India in this period. The print and electronic media often indulged in anti-Hindu propaganda, but the educational material was by and large free of bias against Hindus.

Then came the time when Indo-Pakistan History and Geography were replaced with Pakistan Studies, and Pakistan was defined as an Islamic state. The history of Pakistan became equivalent to the history of Muslims in the subcontinent. It started with the Arab conquest of Sindh and swiftly jumped to the Muslim conquerors from Central Asia.

Simultaneously, there started a trend in the 1970s of stressing the so-called Ideology of Pakistan. This involved creating an ideological straitjacket in which history of Pakistan, especially that of the Pakistan Movement was to be re-written. Pakistan was told to have been created to establish a truly Islamic state in accordance with the tenets of Qur'an and Sunnah. The Ulema who had bitterly opposed the creation of Pakistan were turned into heroes of Pakistan movement. The Quaid-i-Azam was represented as a pious practicing Muslim. And hate and denigration was created for Hindus. A few examples of the expression of this hate in some recent curriculum documents and textbooks are given below.

Curriculum documents state the following as the specific learning objectives:

> [The child should be able to] understand the Hindu and Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan[98]
>
> Develop understanding of the Hindu Muslim Differences and need for Pakistan[99]

98 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Classes K-V, Integrated and Subject Based, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1995, p 151

99 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35

> Hindu-Muslim Differences in Culture, .. India's evil designs against Pakistan (the three wars with India)[100]
>
> Identify the events in relation to Hindu-Muslim differences, which laid the foundations for Pakistan[101]

The textbooks then respond in the following way to the above curriculum instructions:

> Hindu has always been an enemy of Islam.[102]
>
> The religion of the Hindus did not teach them good things -- Hindus did not respect women...[103]
>
> Hindus worship in temples which are very narrow and dark places, where they worship idols. Only one person can enter the temple at a time. In our mosques, on the other hand, all Muslims can say their prayers together.[104]
>
> ' … the social evils of the Hindus'[105]
>
> Hindus thought that there was no country other than India, nor any people other than the Indians, nor did anyone else possess any knowledge[106].
>
> [A story "The Enemy Pilot", about a captured Indian pilot, presumably of Hindu faith] He had only been taught never to have pity on Muslims, to always bother the neighbouring Muslims, to weaken them to the extent that they forget about freedom, and that it is better to finish off the enemy. He remembered that the Hindus tried to please their Devi Kali by slaughtering innocent people of other faiths at her feet; that they regarded everybody else as untouchables. He knew that his country India had attacked Pakistan in the dead of the night to bleed Pakistani Muslims and to dominate the entire Subcontinent.[107]
> The Hindus who have always been opportunists cooperated with the English.[108]
>
> …but Hindus very cunningly succeeded in making the British believe that the Muslims were solely responsible for the [1857] rebellion.[109]
>
> Nehru report exposed the Hindu mentality.[110]

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100 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35
101 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35
102 Urdu Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 108
103 Muasherati Ulum for Class IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1995, p 81
104 Muasherati Ulum for Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1996, p 109
105 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 59
106 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 82. This sentence, meant to denigrate Hindus, describes the response of the local people to Al Beruni's visit to India. It is obviously a concocted lie because of the fact that Alexander the Greek had come to this land many centuries earlier, that the rule of the Mauryas and the Guptas stretched to the lands from where Al Beruni had come, that the Arabs had conquered Sindh before Al Beruni's visit, that the Arab conquest was also aimed against the Ismailis who had settled in the area around Multan even earlier, and that the Arabic mathematics was deeply influenced by Indian mathematics, etc., etc.
107 Urdu Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 221
108 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 141
109 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 90
110 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 102

> The Quaid saw through the machinations of the Hindus.[111]

> Hindus declared the Congress rule as the Hindu rule, and started to unleash terror on Muslims.[112]

> The Hindus always desired to crush the Muslims as a nation. Several attempts were made by the Hindus to erase the Muslim culture and civilisation. Hindi-Urdu controversy, shudhi and sanghtan movements are the most glaring examples of the ignoble Hindu mentality.[113]

> While the Muslims provided all type of help to those wishing to leave Pakistan, the people of India committed cruelties against the Muslims (refugees). They would attack the buses, trucks, and trains carrying the Muslim refugees and they were murdered and looted.[114]

> After 1965 war India conspired with the Hindus of Bengal and succeeded in spreading hate among the Bengalis about West Pakistan and finally attacked on East Pakistan in December 71, thus causing the breakup of East and West Pakistan.[115]

Urging the Students to Take the Path of *Jehad* and *Shahadat*

The themes of *Jehad* and *Shahadat* clearly distinguish the pre- and post-1979 educational contents. There was no mention of these in the pre-Islamization period curricula and textbooks, and the post-1979 curricula and textbooks openly eulogize *Jehad* and *Shahadat* and urge students to become *mujahids* and martyrs. The following examples illustrate the point.

> Learning Outcome: Recognize the importance of *Jehad* in every sphere of life[116]

> Learning outcome: Must be aware of the blessings of *Jehad*[117]

> Must be aware of the blessings of *Jehad*, and must create yearning for *Jehad* in his heart.[118]

> Concept: *Jehad*; Affective objective: Aspiration for *Jehad*[119]

> Love and aspiration for *Jehad*, *Tableegh* (Prosyletization), *Jehad*, *Shahadat*

111 Social Studies Class-VII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, ?, p 51
112 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 104
113 M. Ikram Rabbani and Monawar Ali Sayyid, *An Introduction to Pakistan studies*, The Caravan Book House, Lahore, 1995, p 12
114 National Early Childhood Education Curriculum (NECEC), Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, March 2002, p 85
115 Social Studies (in Urdu) Class- V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, p 112
116 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 34
117 Urdu Curriculum (Compulsory, optional and Easy course), Classes IX and X, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1988, p 8
118 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p 13
119 Social Studies Curriculum for Classes VI – VIII National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, Year 1984, p 16

(martyrdom), sacrifice, *ghazi* (the victor in holy wars), *shaheed* (martyr), …[120]

Simple stories to urge for *Jehad*[121]

Activity 4: To make speeches on *Jehad* and *Shahadat*[122]

To make speeches on *Jehad*[123]

Evaluation: To judge their spirits while making speeches on *Jehad*, Muslim History and Culture[124]

Concepts: *Jehad*, *Amar bil Maroof* and *Nahi Anil Munkar*[125]

Importance of *Jehad*[126]

Affective objective: Concepts of Ideology of Pakistan, Muslim *Ummah* and *Jehad*[127]

Stories: eight lessons; Folk tales (mythical, moral, Islamic, travel and adventure, *Jehad*)[128]

Again, the repetition illustrates how insistent the curricula are on the inclusion of material on *jehad* and *shahadat* in textbooks and in classroom teaching.

Narrowing the Options

It is interesting to note that a general objective in curriculum documents: To create awareness and love for Islamic faith, and to bring up children according to Islamic valueshas been replaced by particular objectives, that completely narrow the options textbook writers may have for writing pedagogically sound textbooks. The following excerpts demonstrate the point.[129]

120 Social Studies Curriculum for Classes VI – VIII National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, Year 1984, p 21
121 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 56
122 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 154
123 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 33
124 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35
125 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 34
126 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 34
127 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35
128 Urdu Curriculum (First language) for Classes IV and V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002, p 18
129 Integrated Curriculum, Classes I – III, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

Class I: Particular Objectives and recommendations for textbook contents:

Particular objective	Concept/skill	Subject matter
To tell that Allah is one. He is the Creator, Master and the Provider	Unity, Creator, Master and Provider	Small poems describing Allah as the Creator and the master, and of the creation of the universe. He should be thanked, and He should be approached for help. Children be asked to sing this poem. An easy lesson in prose along these lines be also written.
To tell the prophethood of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)	The Prophethood	The holy name of the Holy Prophet (pbuh), His prophethood, and his sayings
To familiarize with the Last Book of Allah	Qur'an	Qur'an as the last book from Allah. Familiarity with Arabic alphabets (a page to be added in the already prepared textbooks)
To make them remember religious phrases by heart	*Takbeer, Ta'uz, Tasmiah, Kalmah Tayyaba and Durud Sharif*	*Takbeer, Ta'uz, Tasmiah, Kalmah Tayyaba and Durud Sharif* be asked for oral rendition
To tell them about Islamic brotherhood	Islamic brotherhood	All Muslims are brothers among themselves
To tell them of the manners of speech	Manners of speech	*Assalam o' Alaikum, WaAlaikum Asslam, thank you, yes please, no thank you*

Class II: Particular objectives, the concepts and skills and the recommended textbook subject matter

Particular objective	Concept/skill	Subject matter
To create indebtedness to the blessings of Allah, and to thank Him	Blessings of Allah Prayer	A poem that talks of the greatness of Allah and of his blessings, and inducing to thank Him
To know about the family and lineage of the Holy Prophet (pbuh). To know how his childhood was.	Tribe and lineage, good behaviour	A short lesson about the family and lineage (names of only parents and grandparents) of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) with a story of his childhood showing his good behaviour
To know about ablution	Ablution	Names of the five prayers, their timings, keeping time, cleanliness and togetherness (the material on ablution and prayers be given in one place). The concept of fasting and the month of Ramadan
To know about prayers and fasting	prayers, fasting	
To memorize religious phrases by heart	Learning by heart *Takbeer, Ta'uz, Tasmiah, Kalima Tayyaba, kalima Shahadat and Durud Sharif* with translation	In the teachers' guide, instructions be given to get *Takbeer, Ta'uz, Tasmiah, Kalima Tayyaba, kalima Shahadat and Durud Sharif* memorized by heart. Two lessons on reading Arabic be added in continuation of the material in Class I.
To be familiar with religious events	Eid-ul-Fitr	Eid, Eid-ul-Fitr (with reference to fasting and Ramadan)
To know Islamic mannerism	Eating manners, Manners of speaking	A lesson on eating manners. The exercises should contain words and sentences related to the religious and moral aspects of life. For example, Sir, thank you, please, good bye, etc.
To introduce important Islamic personalities	Truthfulness, bravery, honesty	Such stories about the personalities of Islam that talk of truthfulness, bravery and honesty.

In the general objective of "creating love for the country" (p. 32), the curriculum for Class II again prescribes

Particular objective	Concept/skill	Subject matter
To create a spirit of Islamic brotherhood	Islamic brotherhood	The lesson should contain mention of Islamic brotherhood, unity, labour and love with reference to the quotations from the Holy Qur'an and the sayings of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)

Class III: Particular objectives, the concepts and skills and the recommended textbook subject matter

Particular objective	Concept/skill	Subject matter
To create a feeling for the blessings of Allah and the spectacle of His powers	(a) Awareness of the manifestations of Allah's blessings and powers (b) A better use of natural resources and avoiding superfluence	A poem that describes the manifestations of Allah's blessings and powers that children can observe. For example, clouds, rain, air, water, trees, fruits, moon, sun, winter, summer, etc.
To narrate events from the youth of the Holy Prophet	Kindness, love, good behaviour, sympathy, helping the old and the sick. Structuring the society in accordance with the Islamic teachings	A lesson that should narrate an event from the life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) that highlights His exemplary life Such lessons that give brief accounts of the lives of prophets, tolerance of hardship for the sake of preaching the word of Allah, sacrifice, perseverance, etc.
Be aware of the timings of the prayers	Prayers	A lesson that talks of prayers and their timings
Including lessons on reading Arabic	Reading Arabic, learning to read Holy Qur'an	Reading of *Soorah Fateha, the last half of the last chapter of Qur'an*. Memorizing by heart *Soorah Fateha, Ikhlas, Kausar, Asr, Lahab*
The manners of reading the holy Qur'an	Respect for the Holy Qur'an	In one lesson that talks about the holy Qur'an being the last book from Allah, the manners for its reading, cleanliness, respect, and the blessings of it.
To introduce important Islamic personalities	Justice, generosity, tolerance, love for human beings, importance of those working for the welfare of humanity	A lesson on the events from the life of Hazrat Umar (RA) describing justice, social justice, discipline, and equality. A lesson from the life of Hazrat Ali (RA) describing his generosity, sacrifice, tolerance and bravery.

PART B

Detailed Listing of Material Insensitive to the Religious Diversity

This part of the chapter lists the material in support of the contention in Part 1, first in the curricula prepared by the Curriculum Wing of the Ministry of Education, and then in Section 2 in textbooks.

1. Curriculum Documents

This section lists all the material in the curriculum documents that was found to be either itself insensitive to the religious diversity of the society, or that leads to material in textbooks that is likely to contribute to the insensitivity.

(a) Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995

(i) **Urdu curriculum** (Urdu is compulsory for all students)

Class I

p. 21: To create awareness of and love for Islamic beliefs, and to bring up children according to Islamic values. [This part is all Islamiat]

Class II

p. 26-27: To create love for Islamic practices and beliefs, and to bring up children according to Islamic values.

p. 32: To create sense of Islamic brotherhood

Class III

p. 36 To create awareness of and love for Islamic beliefs, and to bring up children according to Islamic values. [This part is all Islamiat]

Class IV-V

p. 41 (3) A feeling be created among students they are the members of a Muslim nation. Therefore, in accordance with the Islamic tradition, they have to truthful, honest, patriotic and life-sacrificing *mujahids*.

(7) It is to be emphasized to the students that all the Muslims of the world belong to one community (*millat*).

(12) The Ideology of Pakistan be presented as an accepted reality, and be never subjected to discussion or dispute.

(3) In the teaching material, no idea of a separation between the worldly and the religious be given, rather all the material be presented from the Islamic point of view.

p. 42 Among the specific objectives of teaching Urdu is included
(12) [The student be enabled] to respect Islamic beliefs and practices.

p. 43 Among the specific aims of teaching Urdu are:
[Achieving these objectives will enable a student] to
(j) have essential information about Pakistan, and that the country was obtained by the Muslims to preserve their faith and culture.
(k) …. To love Islamic traditions

p. 44 Guiding principles for teachers
(5) In the textbooks, such subjects be included in sufficient numbers that emphasise …, the importance and greatness of Islam, ..
(15) Arrange functions/ events on Islamic and national themes, and students be asked to memorize such poems, …, etc., that express national and Islamic sentiments.

(16) For speeches, writings and discussions, such topics be chosen that represent positive thinking about Islam and Pakistan, and those topics be avoided that negate or denigrate Islamic values and the Ideology of Pakistan.

(17) Teachers' behaviour be such as to express love and respect for Islam, Pakistan and national values.

(18) Teachers must thoroughly study the Ideology of Pakistan ..

Class IV
p. 47 (7) Use of knowledge and observations
(a) Express orally and in writing information about religion and the country.

p. 48 (11) National culture
(b) Be proud of Islamic way of life, and try to acquire and adopt Islamic teachings
(e) Be respectful to Islam and national leaders

(12) Respect for Islamic beliefs and practices
(a) read Qur'an, and respect it
(c) Listen to the events from Islamic history and derive pleasure from them
(d) Regard Pakistan as an Islamic state, and acquire deep love for it.

Class V
p.51 (7) Use of knowledge and observation
(a) Express love and reverence for Islam and Pakistan

p. 52 (11) <u>National culture</u>

(b) Knows that national culture is not the local culture or local customs, but that it means the culture the principles of which are laid down by Islam
(c) Should try to adopt principles of Islamic way of living

(12) Respect for Islamic beliefs and practices
(a) should try to take part in Islamic prayers
(b) study religious books in order to understand Qur'anic teachings
(c) express oneself orally and in writing on religious and national topics
(d) respect Islamic or national customs and urge others to do the same.

Class IV
p.54 <u>Suggestions on preparing textbooks</u>

(3) Topics of books
(a) Events from the life of the Holy Prophet, His family, and Islamic leaders (Imams)
(b) Stories from the history of Islam
(c) True friendship (from the life of Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique)
(j) …, Islamic preachers, …
(k) Famous women of Islam
(l) Golden quotes (sayings of the Muslim thinkers, religious scholars and spiritual leaders)

Class V
p. 56 <u>Suggestions on preparing textbooks</u>

(3) Topics for lessons
(a) Events from the life of the Holy Prophet, His family and Islamic leaders
(b) Stories of Imams and the Prophet's companions (sacrifice: from the life of Hazrat Usman)
(l) Stories about the Pakistan movement, eminent personalities of Pakistan, and martyrs of Pakistan
(m) Simple stories to incite for *jehad*
(n) Unity of the Islamic world

p. 58 <u>Objectives of teaching Urdu (as a second language)</u>

The objective is to make the student
(9) Understand Islam and Ideology of Pakistan, and feel them deep in heart

p. 61 <u>Detailed suggestions for Class IV textbook</u>

(1) Topics
(2) Stories on , …, religion, …
(3) Short poems on, …, religion, …
(7) Essays creating deep love for Islam and Ideology of Pakistan

p. 64 <u>Detailed suggestions for textbook, Class V</u>

(1) Topic
(c) Events from the lives of the Prophet, and from the Islamic history

(d) Religious festivals, …

(ii) Social Studies curriculum

Class IV

p. 140 Specific learning objectives
Administration
At the end of Class IV, the child will be able to
4. Demonstrate an appreciation of the Ideology of Pakistan

p. 141 Problems and solutions
At the completion of Class IV, the child will be able to
(3) demonstrate an understanding of the Islamic values of social justice

p. 142 Syllabus for Class IV

p. 142 Province
Objectives
(5) Demonstrate a consciousness of the gory of Islam

p. 145 Administration
Objectives
(4) Demonstrate an appreciation for the Ideology of Pakistan

p. 146 Population
Objectives
(4) Demonstrate the understanding and acceptance of Islamic values

p. 149 Problems and solutions
Objectives
(3) Demonstrate an understanding of the Islamic values of social justice

p. 150 Important personalities
Objective (1) Identify the efforts of various persons to the betterment of all people
Activities (1) The life of the Holy Prophet
Objective (2) Describe the lives and achievements of the distinguished persons of their province who worked for the betterment of the people of Pakistan
Activities (2) The life of Hazrat Abu Bakr, Hazrat Ali and three distinguished personalities of the province to be determined …

Class V

Specific Learning Objectives
p.151 Islamic Republic of Pakistan
At the completion of Class V, the child will be able to
1. Understand the Hindu and Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan

3. Acknowledge and identify forces that may be working against Pakistan
5. Demonstrate, by action, a belief in the fear of Allah
6. Demonstrate a desire to preserve the ideology, integrity and security of Pakistan

Location and physical features
At the completion of Class V, the child will be able to:
1. Understand the Hindu and Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan
6. Demonstrate a knowledge, understanding and acceptance of Islamic values.

Important personalities who contributed to the spread of Islam and the Freedom Movement

At the completion of Class V, the child will be able to:
3. Demonstrate an appreciation of the work of Muslim heroes.

p. 154 Objectives, contents and activities

Objective 1:	Understand the Hindu and Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan
Content 1:	Hindu Muslim differences in culture
Content 3:	Ideology of Pakistan
Content 4:	India's evil designs against Pakistan (The three wars with India)
Activity 4:	To make speeches on *jehad* and *shahadat*
Activity 5:	To listen to special programs broadcast on Muslim history and culture
Activity 6:	To participate in the congregational prayers.

p. 160 Activity 4: To prepare speeches on Islamic republic and Muslim brotherhood

p. 164 Important personalities: contents: Muhammad bin Qasim, mahmood Ghaznavi, Shah Waliullah, Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, Moulana Obaidulah Sindhi, Ahmed Shah Abdali, …

(b) National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002

p. 6 Objectives:
2. To promote understanding of socioeconomic and socio-cultural aspects of Pakistani society, the Ideology of Pakistan and struggle for Pakistan.
4. To instill the gratitude towards Allah Almighty of His blessings bestowed upon us.
5. To instill respect and regard for Holy Prophet Muhammad (S. A. W) for his unmatched contributions towards betterment for humanity.

9. To inculcate the unflinching love for Islam and Pakistan, strong sense of national cohesion, and state integrity.

p. 7

Learning Competencies for Class I. Chapter I: Home, School and Mosque

The columns on objectives, concepts, contents, activities, learning outcomes and evaluation all contain extensive mention of mosque, for example,

- Provide awareness about mosque
- Develop understanding of the physical environment of the mosque
- To promote the sense of love for mosque
- Relationship within mosque
- Mosque location, building, *Mehrab*, *Mimber*, Safe bards
- To visit mosques
- To make a drawing of mosque and colour it
- Identify the pictures showing mosque
- Identify/ illustrate/ differentiate home school and mosque

Learning outcome: Describe that Almighty Allah is our Creator and Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) is the last prophet.

p. 8	Chapter II:	Inmates
	Cognitive Objectives:	To enhance understanding one's relations with Muezzin and Imam
	Affective Objectives:	To develop a sense of respect for those who work with their hands, for Muezzin and Imam
	Concept:	Reverence for Allah
	Activities:	To participate in *Salat Ba-Jamat* in mosques
	Learning outcome:	Describe that all Muslims are closely related and should love each other.
p. 9	Chapter III:	Safety and Security
	Contents:	Protection of mosque and its belonging.
p. 11	Chapter V:	Important personalities and national days
	Contents: 3.	Bismillah ceremony
	Leaning Outcomes:	Describe why Bismillah ceremonies take place
p. 13	Chapter II:	Resources
	Affective objective:	to promote the feelings of thankfulness to Allah Almighty for the gifts bestowed upon us.
	Concepts:	Gifts of Allah
	Learning Outcomes:	Pay thanks (shukr) to Almighty Allah for His gifts
p. 15	Chapter IV:	Relations with Village/ Town/ City People
	Activities:	To quote Hadith about neighbours elders etc rights and responsibilities
	Learning Outcomes:	Describe importance of good behaviour with each other. Their description should depict that

they have some knowledge of Islamic teachings in this regard.

p. 18 Chapter VII: Resources

Affective Objective: Thankfulness to Allah Almighty for the gifts bestowed upon us.
Learning Outcomes: Pay thanks to Almighty Allah for His gifts

p. 19 Chapter VIII: Important Personalities and national/ Cultural Festivals
Cognitive Objectives: Familiarize with the past personalities of Islam
Affective Objectives: Develop understanding of the sanctity of Islamic practices
Contents:
1. Muazz Moavvaz (Razi Allah Unhum)
2. Islamic Brotherhood
3. Eid-ul-Fitr, Eid-ul-Zuha

Learning Outcomes: Describe in few words the heroic contribution of Muaz and Muavvaz (Razi Allah Unhum)

p. 20 Chapter I: District
Affective Objectives
1. to develop a feeling of thankfulness to Allah Almighty for all that He has bestowed upon us.

p. 21 Chapter II: Agricultural Resources
Learning Outcomes
6. Pay thanks (shukr) to Almighty Allah for His blessings

p 24 Chapter 5: Services
Learning Objectives
Recognize that Islamic principles chalked out for the welfare of all human beings should be adopted in various Institutions for better performance

p. 26 Important Personalities
Cognitive Objectives
2. Create awareness about the Prophets

Affective Objectives
2. Enhance the feelings of love for Islamic teachings

Contents
1. Prophets, Hazrat Adam
2. Hazrat Ibrahim
3. Hazrat Muhammad (S. A. W)
4. Hazrat Musa
5. Hazrat Esa

2. All the concepts are derived from life sketches of the prophets

Activities

To narrate important events from the life history of two in story from holy prophets

Learning Outcomes

Imbibe reverence and regards for Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad for his unmatched contribution

List five Prophets.

To narrate important events from the life history of holy prophets

p. 27 Chapter I: Province: Location and History

Learning Outcomes

Specify the events/ personalities with reference to spread of Islam in the province/area

p. 29 Chapter III: Administration

Affective Objective

2. Love for Ideology of Pakistan

Learning Outcomes

State in simple words the problem in the way of national cohesion and ways to promote national cohesion with specific reference to Ideology of Pakistan

p. 31 Chapter V: Services

Activities

2. Clean the mosque and fill the water jars with water

p. 33 Chapter VII: Problems

Affective Objectives

1. Attain sense of Islamic values, social justice and patriotism

p. 34 Chapter VIII: Important Personalities

Affective Objectives

3. Love for Islamic values

Concepts

3. Jehad
4. Amar bil Maroof and Nahi wa Anil Munkar

Contents

1. The life of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him)
2. Hazrat Khadijatul Kubra, Hazrat Abu Bakar Siddique, two distinguished personality's one male one female of the province (to be determined by the provincial authorities)
3. Importance of Jehad
4. Role of Amer Bil Maroof and Nahi Anil Munkar in character building.

Learning Outcomes

Imbibe reverence and regard for Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad's (PBUH) unmatched contributions towards uplift and betterment of all human beings.
Describe the contribution of Hazrat Khadija (R.A) and Hazrat Abu Bakar Siddique (R.A).
Recognize the importance of Jehad in every sphere of life.
Recognize the significance of Amar Bil Maroof and Nahi Anil Munkar in development of personalities

p. 35 Chapter I: Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Cognitive Objectives

1. Develop understanding of the Hindu Muslim differences and need for Pakistan

Affective Objectives

1. Develop a sense of fear for Allah
2. Enhance the feeling of patriotism, …, and devotion to Muslim Brotherhood
3. Develop the sense of preservation of the ideology, integrity and security of Pakistan

Concepts

1. Ideology of Pakistan
2. Muslim Ummah
8. Jehad

Contents

- Hindu Muslim differences in cultures
- Ideology of Pakistan
- India's evil designs against Pakistan (The three wars with India)
- Need for security of Pakistan

Activities

- Involvement in group discussions and listening to the talk on Pakistan Ideology and Kashmir Issue
- Participation in congregational events
- To make speeches on Jehad
- To listen to programs broadcast on Muslim History and Culture

Learning Outcomes

- Identify the events in relation to Hindu-Muslim differences, which laid the foundations for Pakistan's emergence
- Identify the behaviour patterns for a Pakistani which may preserve the ideology and ..
- Specify the nature of Kashmir Issue
- Evaluate the role of India with reference to wars of 1956 (???), 1965 and 1971 A.D.
- Evaluation
- To judge their spirits while making speeches on Jehad, Muslim History and Culture

p. 38 Chapter III: Climate
Affective Objective:
1. Promote a sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah for the resources bestowed upon us

Concepts
2. Sense of gratitude towards Almighty Allah

p. 41 Chapter V: Population
Affective Objective:
3. Inculcate Islamic values for quality of life

Concepts
5. Love for Islam

p. 42 Chapter VI: Safety
Concepts
4. Rumours

Contents
1. Safety from rumour mongers

p. 43 Chapter VII: Administration
Affective Objective:
2. Enhance a sense of respect for Cooperation and preservation of the Ideology of Pakistan.

Contents
6. Islam and administration

Learning Outcomes:
2. Specify why constitution is necessary for Pakistan's progress. Emphasize Islamic perspective

p. 46 Chapter X: Problems and Their Solutions
Affective Objective:
1. Develop love and respect for Islamic values and brotherhood and patriotism

p. 47 Chapter XI: Important Personalities who contributed towards the spread of Islam and the freedom movement
Cognitive Objectives
Enhance understanding about the unmatched charismatic personality of Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W)

Affective Objectives
Develop a sense of appreciation for the Muslim Heroes
Enhance a sense of respect and reverence for the Muslim Heroes

Concepts
Jehad
Ideology of Paksitan

Contents
Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W)
Muhammad bin Qasim
Mahmood Ghaznavi
Shah Waliullah

Activities
Listening of talks/speeches and group discussions on unmatched personality of hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W)

Learning Outcomes
Imbibe reverence to the unmatched contribution of Hazrat Muhammad (S.A.W) towards uplift and betterment of all human beings

(c) Early Childhood Education (ECE), National ECE Curriculum, March 2002

p. 4 A statement of objectives
To nurture in children a sense of Islamic identity and pride in being Pakistani.

p. 6 Life skills
- Use greetings such as Assalam Alaikum
- Know when to say "Bismillah"
- Recite the first Kalma and understand its meaning
- Name the five daily prayers
- Learn about Ramadhan and Eidain

p. 19 Learning content: Life skills
Personal and social development
All about Assalam Alaikum, the first Kalma, Ramadhan and Eidain, as on p.6

(d) Integrated Curriculum, Classes I – III, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

p. 2 This curriculum is basically that of Urdu language in view of the centrality of linguistic capabilities in learning. However, the essence of other disciplines like Social Studies, Science, Arts, etc. have been suggested to be included in contents according to the context. Because mathematics has different requirements, its curriculum is given separately.

p. 3 The National Curriculum Committee had the following special considerations:
3. In view of the concept of mosque schools, to include appropriate material relating to religious teachings.

p. 4 General objectives:
4. To create love for Islamic faith and practice, and to bring up children according to Islamic values.

Class I

p. A-3 Integrated curriculum for Class I

2. To acquaint with the social environment…:
   Mosque is extensively mentioned as an essential component of the social environment

p. A-4

3. To create awareness and love for Islamic faith, and to bring up children according to Islamic values
   This section is all about Islamiat

Objectives:

3.1 To tell that Allah is One, and He is the Creator and Provider
3.2 To make aware of the prophethood of the Prophet (pbuh)
3.3 To create acquaintance with the last book of Allah
3.4 To teach Namaz and its requirements
3.5 To memorise Islamic Kalimat
3.6 To make aware with Islamic brotherhood

Class II

p. A-11

3. To create awareness and love for Islamic faith, and to bring up children according to Islamic values
   This section is all about Islamiat

Objectives:

3.1 To create of sense of blessings of Allah and to be thankful for them
3.2 To know about the family and genealogy of the Holy Prophet (pbuh). His childhood.
3.3 To know the importance of cleanliness
3.4 To know about Namaz and Roza
3.5 To memorize the Islamic Kalimat with translation. To learn the skill of reading Arabic
3.6 To be familiar with religious festivals
3.7 To make them aware of Islamic manners

p. A-17

6.2 To create the spirit of Islamic brotherhood (the lesson should mention Islamic brotherhood, unity, labour and love in the light of Qur'an and Hadith.

p. A-21

3. To create awareness and love for Islamic faith, and to bring up children according to Islamic values
   This section is all about Islamiat

Objectives:

1.1 To create an appreciation for the blessings of Allah, and the wonders of His power
1.2 To narrate events from the days of youth of the Holy Prophet (pbuh), and his character (Seerat)
1.3 To teach the rituals of Namaz
1.4 To include lessons on reading Arabic
1.5 To tell manners of reading Qur'an

p. A-25	5.3 To create the spirit of Islamic brotherhood 5.4 To create the spirit of Islamic equality (the lesson should be on Hazrat Umar (R.A)
p. 7	Suggested activities for Class I xviii To talk about Deen (For example, Allah is one. Muhammad (pbuh) is our dear Prophet. We are Muslims .. xxii To talk about day and night… including the timings of Namaz
For Class II p. 8VI	To sing Hamd o Naat (in praise of Allah and the Prophet (pbuh))
For Class III p. 9	IV Speeches on issues like .., we are Muslims, .. V To memorize and recite verses from Qur'an XIX Namaz Committee (cleaning the mosque, providing water for Wuzu (ablution), preparing prayer mats)
p. 10	- To tell correct pronunciation of Islamic and Arabic words - To practically teach the method of Wuzu and Namaz - Collect pictures, stories and models of Khana-e-Kaaba, Masjid-e-Nabavi, …
p. 18	Reading Arabic and the Qur'an (Nazra (visual reading) and Hifz (memorization)) The Committee members have proposed the following for reading Arabic and Qur'an: 1. It is better that for Arabic reading, the last pages of the Integrated Book be reserved. This, however, is not essential because some experts believe that these lessons be interspersed in the entire book lest the teachers should take this to mean starting Arabic and Qur'anic reading after finishing the entire book. 2. To teach Qur'anic text (Nazra and Hifz), the publication of an authentic institution be used.
p. 19	General recommendations 3. As would be noticed from a perusal of this curriculum that it has been prepared by mixing the subjects of language, social studies, Islamic studies, Art and general science.
p. 20	19. The necessary instructions on memorizing the Qur'anic verses and phrases be noted in the teachers guide.

(e) Urdu Curriculum (First language) for Classes IV and V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

p. 3	National Objective 1. The sense be created among students that they are members of the Islamic Millat. Therefore in accordance with the Islamic

tradition, they ought to develop into true, honest patriot, servant of the people and Janbaz Mujahid (life giving mujahid).

9. Topics of speeches should be such that … their focus be on Deeni (religious), … objectives.
11. The Ideology of Pakistan be presented as an accepted reality, and should never be made controversial and debatable.
12. No difference be expressed between Deen and Dunya (religious and secular) in the teaching material. Rather, the material should be according to the Islamic viewpoint.

p.4 Objectives of teaching Urdu
12. Maintain respect for Islamic faith and practice

p. 7 National Objectives
(i) [The child will become able] to have essential knowledge about Pakistan, and to know that the Muslims have obtained this country to preserve their religion and culture
(j) … to love Islamic traditions

p. 10 Detail of class-wise objectives

Class IV
11. (b) To be proud of the Islamic way of living, and be eager to acquire and adopt Islamic teachings
12. (a) To read the holy Qur'an, and show respect to it
12. (d) To Listen to events from Islamic history, and feel pleasure
12. (e) To take Pakistan to be an Islamic state, and show respect to religious elders

Class V
p. 14
7. (a) Must express love and devotion to Islam and Pakistan
11. (b) Must know that our national culture is based on Islam
11. (c) Must try to adopt the principles of Islamic way of living
12 Respect for Islamic faith and practice
12. (a) Must participate in Islamic prayers
12. (b) Must read religious books to understand Qur'anic teachings

p. 16 Teachers' guide
5. Such topics be extensively covered in textbooks that highlight …, greatness of Islam, …, Islamic justice, …

p. 17
15. Islamic and national events be arranged
16. Such topics be always chosen for speech, writing and discussions that represent positive thinking about Islam and Pakistan, …
17. The teacher's attitude should express love and respect for Islam, Pakistan and national values
18. The teacher should deeply study the Ideology of Pakistan, …

p. 18 Suggested subjects and topics for Class IV
1. Seerat: three lessons
   (i) the life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh), keeping the promise

(ii) the family of the Prophet (pbuh), contentment and thankfulness (Hazrat Fatimah (R.A.)
(iii) the companions of the Prophet (pbuh) True friendship (Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddiq (R.A.)

2. History of Islam: four lessons
   (i) Heroes (The lion of Meysoor, Tipu Sultan)
   (ii) Famous women (Hazrat Aisha Siddiqua)
   (iii) Islamic leaders (Imam Abu Hanifa)
   (iv) Unity of the Islamic Ummah (with reference to Allama Iqbal)

4. Sayings: two lessons
   (i) Qur'an and Hadith (Qur'anic verses on rights of other people ad the meaning of Ahadith)
   (ii) Thinkers, Ulema and Fuqaha, Quaid-i-Azam, appropriate selection of stories of Rumi and Saadi

5. Stories: eight lessons
   Folk tales (mythical, moral, Islamic, travel and adventure, jehad)

p. 21 Suggested subjects and topics for Class V

1. Seerat: three lessons
   - The life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) (forgiveness)
   - The family of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) (symbol of loyalty, Hazrat Khadija (R.A.)
   - The companions of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) (Devotion and sacrifice, Hazrat Usman Ghani (R.A.)

2. History of Islam: four lessons
   - Heroes (The true dream, Nuruddin Zangi)
   - Famous women (The brave woman, Khaula binte Azur)
   - Islamic leaders (Imam Jaffar bin Sadiq)
   - Unity of the Islamic world (The Islamic Ummah, Jamaluddin Afghani)

4. Sayings: one lesson
   - Qur'an, hadith, thinkers, Ulema and Fuqaha (a selection of stories from Rumi and Saadi)

5. Stories: eight lessons
   - Folk tales (mythical, moral, Islamic, travel and adventure, jehad)

6. Poems: eight lessons
   Poems, .., Hamd, Naat, ..

p. 25 Suggestions for textbooks

Care be taken in the composition and editing of the essays that there ought to come out an angle of propagation of Islam and the Ideology of Pakistan

(f) Social Studies Curriculum for Classes VI – VIII, National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, 1984

p. 7	Domain of knowledge B. Cultural	
	Cognitive objective:	Knowledge of the Ideology of Pakistan
	Affective objective:	Attitude to respect Islamic ways of life
	Psychomotor:	Activities to promote Islamic values
p. 10	Affective objective:	Sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah
p. 11	Affective objective:	Feeling of gratitude to Almighty Allah
p. 12	Affective objective:	Thankfulness to Almighty Allah for providing natural resources
p. 15	Affective objective:	Knowledge of Hindu social system
	Content:	Hindu social system, caste system, Budhism as a revolt against social system
p. 16	Concept:	Jehad
	Affective objective: 1. Aspiration for Jehad 2. Love and regard for Islamic values	
p. 17	Cognitive objective:	To get acquainted with the resistance put forward y the Muslims against British occupation (No mention of the resistance from Hindus, as if they collaborated)

p. 21 The entire chapter is on Islamic Society, and is forced upon the children of all religions. See, for example, at the end of the chapter (p. 22)

Affective objective: 1. Love for Islamic Values

1. Respect and reverence to the Holy Prophet (PBUH)
4. Love and aspiration for jehad
5. Pride in being a Muslim
   Earlier, the concepts introduced in the chapter include: Tableegh (proselytization), jehad, shahadat (martyrdom), sacrifice, ghazi (the victor in holy wars), shaheed (martyr),

p. 24	A whole chapter on "Awakening of Muslims"	
	Cognitive objective:	To understand the importance of those who worked for the cause of Islam
	Contents:	Islamic ideology
	Affective objective:	Reverence for freedom fighters and millat-e-Islamiah
p. 32	Affective objective:	sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah

p. 34 Affective objective: sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah

p. 44 Affective objective: Pride in belonging to Millat-e-Islamiah

(g) Pakistan Studies Curriculum for Classes IX-X, 1986

p. 3

Chapter 1 – Foundation of Pakistan (A) Ideological basis of Pakistan

Cognitive objectives:

1. To understand the concept of sovereignty of Allah in Islam
2. To understand cardinal points of Islamic way of life

Concepts:

Sovereignty of Allah, justice equality and Islamic brotherhood

Contents:

1. Fundamentals of Muslim Society
    - (i) Muslim ideals of Sovereignty of Allah and the guiding principles of the Islamic way of life
    - (ii) Features of Muslim polity-Justice equality and brotherhood Audio-visual aids
5. Portraits of Muhammad bin Qasim

Affective objectives

1. Feeling pride for the rich heritage of Islam
2. Appreciation of the salient features of Muslim life

Contents:

Offering congregational prayers

p. 4

Chapter 2 – Making of Pakistan

Affective objectives:

1. Feeling for suffering of Muslims of the subcontinent
2. Consciousness of Hindu-Muslim antagonism

p. 7

Affective objective:

Feeling of happiness and gratefulness to Allah for bestowing natural resources

p. 8

Affective objective:

Thankfulness to Almighty Allah for natural resources

p. 13

Concepts:

Islamic values, unity, Islamic brotherhood, faith, ..

Activities:

2. Collecting pictures of Holy places
3. Keeping pen friendship with students in Muslim countries
4. Collecting stamps , coins, maps and view cards of Muslim countries
5. Witnessing documentary films and TV programmes on Islamic Conferences and Haj

Audio-visual aids
1. Charts of pictures of holy places
6. Documentary films on Haj, Summit conference held in Lahore and Arab-Israel War.

p. 14 Affective objectives
1. Love for Islamic values
2. Appreciation of Muslim unity, brotherhood, religious and cultural entity
3. Reverence for sacred places.

(h) Pakistan Studies Curriculum for Classes XI-XII, National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, 1986.

p. 2 Introduction
The subject of Pakistan Studies essentially emerges from the 'Pakistan Movement' and 'Pakistan Ideology' … It includes items such as:
1. Islamization of all institutions of Society as a means towards achieving the goal of Islamic Society as embodied in the objectives resolution.

p.3 Chapter – I Genesis of Pakistan
I. Objectives:
   c) To realize the importance of revival of Islamic society in the changing world context and Pakistan being a step towards its revival
      i) To get acquainted with the Ideology of Pakistan as enunciated by Quaid-e-Azam

II. Contents
   A. IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN
      a) Advent of Islam in South East Asia sub continent. Its impact on local culture
      b) Pakistan a step to Islamic Society
      c) Ideology of Pakistan

   B. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
      a) Struggle for freedom in various provinces (Role of Ulema, Mushaikh, Hur Movement, etc.)

III. Guidelines for textbook authors
   A. IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN
      b) Pakistan be introduced as a step towards establishment of Islamic Society in modern world context that is progressive as well as benevolent to people.
      c) The chapter should present the Ideology of Pakistan as enunciated by the Quaid-i-Azam and should include relevant documented references.

B. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

a) the text should incorporate the efforts made by individuals as well as different groups and institutions such as Ulema, Mashaikh, students, women, etc. Struggles like Hur Movement should be given due credit.

p.4 Chapter II History of Pakistan (Problems)

Objectives

b) To know about the British and Hindu's attitudes towards creation of Pakistan

p. 5 Chapter III Steps Towards Islamic State

Objectives

a) To know about the cardinal principles of Constitution of Pakistan
b) To know about the Islamic provisions in all the Constitutions of Pakistan
c) To appreciate the implementation of constitutional provisions on Islamization

Contents

a) Objectives Resolution 1949
b) Islamic Provisions in the constitutional documents
c) Steps towards Islamization.

(i) Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986.

p. 8 Objectives of teaching Urdu

Student be enabled to

8. (h) Love and respect religious values and Islamic culture ..

9 (t) find pleasure in the protection of the Ideology of Pakistan, …

p. 13 Details of the objectives of teaching Urdu

8. To create love for religion and respect for personalities
   a. must have belief in the Unity of God, and know that Allah is the creator of the universe.
   b. Must regard Islamic ways as the best of all
   c. Must have reverence for all the messengers of God, Prophet Mohammad (pbuh), His family members, His companions, the Imams and the leaders, and must try to know their teachings and adopt their ways
   d. Must maintain affinity (love) with the Islamic world
   e. Must respect the leaders, books, places of worship of other religions
   f. Must be aware of the blessings of Jehad, and must create an yearning for Jehad in his heart.

p. 14

9. To create sentiments for the protection of the Ideology of Pakistan, love for the country, …
    b. must believe that Pakistan came into being to safeguard Islamic beliefs and culture

10. (a) must know that the real basis for the strength of Pakistan is Islam

p. 16

Recommendations for textbooks

7. The book should begin with Hamd (a poem in praise of Allah) and Na'at (a poem in praise of the Prophet Mohammad (pbuh)), and end in a prayer

Class 6
p. 18

Titles for Textbooks

3. Essays
    a. Life of the Holy Prophet (Kindness and simplicity)
    b. Personalities of Islam
        1) Hazrat Sa'ad bin Abi Waqas (the story of his bravery in the war of Qadessiyah) Hazrat Salman Farsi
        2) Hazrat Khadija-tul-Kubra (Honesty in trade, wisdom, piety, being first in accepting Islam, spreading the Truth)
        3) Sufi's: Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai, Sultan Bahoo, Data Ganj Bakhsh, Rahman Baba

p. 19

c. Personalities of Pakistan
    3. Quaid-I-Millat (Khan Liaqat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan) (efforts in the establishment of Pakistan, Faith in Islam, martyrdom)

    f. Unforgettable events
       The holy war at Badr
    g. Famous personalities: For example, King Faisal, Jamaluddin Afghani, Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi, …

p. 20

3. Poems on the following topics
    1. Hamd
    2. Na'at
    8. Greatness of Islam
    11. Prayer

Class 7
p. 21

2. Essays
    a. Life of the Holy Prophet, Truthfulness and trustworthiness
    b. Personalities of Islam
        1. Hazrat Ayesha (daughter of a great father, birth, scholarship, good deeds)
        2. Hazrat Khalid bin Waleed (the contrast in the number of soldiers on the sides of Muslims and the infidels in

the war of Moutah, exemplary commander, spirit of jehad, best example of discipline)
3. Sufi's: Hazrat Bab Wali, Peer Baba, Sachchal Sarmast, Baba Farid Shakarganj

f. Unforgettable events
The Hudaibiah pact (between the Prophet Mohammad (pbuh) and the infidels),
The conquest of Mecca (by the Holy Prophet (pbuh) (the general amnesty)
The holy war of Uhud.

4. Poems
1. Hamd
2. Na'at
7. The greatness of Islam (from Musaddas-e-Hali and Shahnama-e-Islam
9. Prayer

Class VIII
p. 24

1. Stories
c. Islamic brotherhood
d. Pakistan movement, the role of Ulema

2. Essays
a. Life of the Holy Prophet (forgiveness)
b. Personalities of Islam
1. Hazrat Bilal, Hazrat Umar bin Abdul Aziz
2. Hazrat Zainab binte Ali
3. Sufi's: Akhundzada Abdul Haq, Lal Shahbaz Qalandar, Khwaja Bahauddin Zakaria Multani, Baba Rhmkar, Sain Suhaili Sarkar

c. The personalities of Pakistan
Pir of Manki Sharif, Moulana Shabbir Ahmed Usmani

e. Writers and Poets
Moulana Hali, .., Allam Shibli Nomani, …

f. Unforgettable event
The event of Karbala, ..

g. The Ulema
Moulana Hamid Badayuni, Syed Suleman Nadavi, Allama Kifayat Hussain, Moulana Mohammad Qasim Nanotvi (founder of the Deoban Madrassah)

h. Pakistan
The creation of Pakistan (reference to the night of the revelation of the Qur'an

i. Poems
   1. Hamd
   2. Na'at
   8. Greatness of Islam
   10. Prayer

p. 29 Objectives for teaching of Urdu as a second language, Class VI to VIII

7. Be able to propagate the important values and traditions of Islam, learn to respect national culture and customs, and adopt national values in accordance with the ideology of Pakistan

p. 38 Detailed suggestions for textbooks: Class 6, second language

3. Titles for lessons
   a. Blessings of Allah, ..
   b. Na'at, the life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)
   h. National martyrs
   i. Stories of Islamic brotherhood
   j. A day in the life of a Muslim student (in the form of a diary)

p. 39 Class 7, second language

3. Titles for lessons
   a. Hamd and Na'at
   b. Life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)
   c. Events from the character of the Holy Prophet's family and His associates
   d. Stories from the Islamic history
   i. Religious festivals
   n. Golden words of the Muslim thinkers, Ulema, and Auliya

p. 41 Class 8, second language
3. Titles of the book
   a. Hamd and Na'at
   b. The Holy Prophet (pbuh)
   c. Events of devotion and sacrifice from the lives of the family members of the Holy Prophet and His associates.
   s. Unity of the Islamic world

(j) Urdu Curriculum (Compulsory, optional and Easy course), Classes IX and X, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1988

p. 2 Objectives of Teaching Urdu
To inculcate in students
1. Love for religion and the nation, ..
7. Sentiments of love and brotherhood for Islamic countries and Islamic brotherhood
10. Sentiments of sacrifice for the sanctity and security of the ideological and geographical boundaries of Pakistan

p. 4 Specific objectives of teaching Urdu, (Compulsory Urdu for classes 9 and 10)

9. Respect for Islamic culture and personalities
10. To create sentiments for love of the country, safeguarding the Ideology of Pakistan, …

p. 8

9. Respect for Islamic culture and personalities
    a. Must have faith on the Unity of Allah, and that the creator of the universe is Allah
    b. Must regard the Islamic ways as the best
    c. Must respect all the messengers of Allah, the Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (pbuh), His family members, His associates, religious leaders, and try to understand and follow their teachings
    d. Must love the Islamic world
    e. Must be aware of the blessings of Jehad

10. National Identity and Country's Stability

p. 9 To create love for the country, a sense for safeguarding the Ideology of Pakistan, …

b. Must believe that Pakistan came into being to safeguard the Islamic way of life and culture
k. Must know that the true basis of the stability of Pakistan is Islam

(k) Urdu Curriculum (Optional) for Classes IX – X, Ministry of Education, National Bureau of Curriculum, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

p. 2 Preface

In these curricula, besides promoting ideological education, stress has also been laid on ….

p. 6 National objectives to be achieved through Urdu

1. To create love for Deen (religion), countrymen, national customs and Islamic world)

3. To create a sense of protecting the ideological and geographical boundaries of Pakistan

6. To create spirit of brotherhood and unity in the Muslim Brotherhood

(l) Urdu Curriculum (Optional) for Classes XI – XII, Ministry of Education, National Bureau of Curriculum, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

p. 2 Preface

In these curricula, besides promoting ideological education, stress has also been laid on ….

(m) English Curriculum for Classes IX-X, National Curriculum Committee, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1986.

p. 7 Textbooks
The Committee recommends the following guidelines for preparing textbooks:
2. Subject matter
   (a) The textbooks should aim at
      (i) inculcating love for Islam as a practical way of life
      (iii) deepening the awareness of the Ideology of Pakistan

(n) National Curriculum English (Compulsory) for Class XI-XII, March 2002

p. 7 Objectives
To make the Qur'anic principles and Islamic practices as an integral part of curricula so that the message of the Holy Qur'an could be disseminated in the process of education as well as training.[130] To educate and train the future generations of Pakistan as a true practicing Muslim who would be able to usher in the 21st century and the next millennium with courage, confidence, wisdom and tolerance.

p. 9 General objectives
x. enable the students to become a responsible, confident and patriot towards the Ideology of Pakistan

p. 13 Contents: Theme /Topics
Essays
13. Islamic values

(o) National Curriculum English (elective) for Class XI-XII, March 2002

Objectives: repeated as above

p. 9 Contents: themes/ topics
3. Essays: …, Islamic values, Pakistani culture and ideology, …

p. 18 Recommendation: At the Intermediate level, besides the selection from the English writers, a team of writers be engaged to write on Islamic culture/ themes/ values and Pakistani cultural Ideology or to select, edit, and write in simplified form the writings of Muslim and contemporary Pakistani writers …

(p) National Curriculum CIVICS for classes IX – X, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002.

p. 4 Preface
Attempt is made to make the curriculum more representative and responsive to the Ideology of Pakistan and societal needs.

p. 5 Introduction
The curriculum is designed in a way that it will inculcate among the students the sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah, …

130 Note the bad English of the English curriculum

p. 6	Objectives 4. To inculcate a strong sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah for His blessings and providing us an independent state. 5. To promote understanding about the Ideology of Pakistan and the struggle for an independent Islamic state	
p. 8	Outline of Syllabus A whole chapter on Ideology of Pakistan and Pakistan Movement	
p. 9	Chapter 1: To develop a sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah for His blessings	Introduction to Civics
p. 10	Chapter 2: To describe the social relationship in Islamic perspective To develop a sense of respect for Islamic teachings	Individuals in Interaction
p. 11	Chapter III: To create a sense of love for Islamic teachings	State
p. 12	Chapter IV: To illustrate the Islamic background of government and its functioning To develop an urge to make our country an Islamic welfare state	Government
p. 13	Chapter V: To explain Islamic teachings which provide the principles of citizenship To demonstrate love for Islamic way of life	Citizen and Citizenship
p. 14	Chapter VI: To analyse rights and responsibilities in constitutional and Islamic perspective To develop a sense of love for Ideology of Pakistan	Rights and Responsibilities
p. 15	Chapter VII: To explain Ideology of Pakistan; meaning and nature of Ideology of Pakistan To demonstrate the faith in Ideology of Pakistan To develop a sense of gratitude towards Almighty Allah for His gifts bestowed upon us.	Ideology of Pakistan and Pakistan Movement
p. 16	Chapter VIII: To discuss about the Islamic provisions of the 1973 constitution Promote a sense of respect for Islamic code of life To develop an urge to implement Islamic provisions of constitution	Constitutional Development in Pakistan
p. 19	Teaching Strategies The teachers should be given training and proper orientation to establish commitment with the Islamic beliefs and principles as enunciated in Qur’an and Sunnah	
p. 20	Guidelines for the Textbook Developers	

While writing the textbooks, material contrary to the Ideology of Pakistan which may injure the feelings of different sects, or which may create hatred against any Muslim leading personality may be avoided.

(q) *National Curriculum CIVICS for classes XI – XII, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002.*

p. 3 Preface
… so that the Ideology of Pakistan could permeate the thinking of young generation …
Attempt is made to make the curriculum more representative and responsive to the Ideology of Pakistan and societal need

p. 5 Introduction
The new curriculum … will inculcate among the students the sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah, …

p. 6 Objectives
To enhance the understanding of socio-economic and sociopolitical processes occurring in our society in the light of our ideological commitments
To develop an understanding of ideology of Pakistan and the struggle Muslims for emergence of an Islamic state

To inculcate a strong sense among the students … gratitude to Almighty Allah

p. 7 Outline of Syllabus
The basic concept, Muslim Ummah
State, Islamic background
Sovereignty, Islamic Background

p. 8 Pakistan movement, Ideology of Pakistan

p. 9 Chapter I: Civics, what is it?
Objectives: To develop a sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah for His blessings

p. 10 Chapter II: Civics – The Basic Concern
Objectives: To illustrate the nature of civics in relation to … and Muslim Ummah
To develop a sense of pride in being Muslim and Pakistani
To develop a sense of affection for value and behaviour patterns of our society based on Islamic teachings

p. 11 Chapter III: State
To express the distinctive nature of State in Islamic perspective
To develop Islamic civic sense about state being the primary requisite Islamic State
To promote the feelings of love for Islamic code of life

p. 12 Chapter IV: Sovereignty

To illustrate the concept of sovereignty in the background of Islam
To develop sense of love for Almighty Allah
To promote an urge to practice the teachings of Islam in its real spirit

p. 13 Chapter V: Government
To demonstrate love for Islamic government

p. 14 Chapter VI: Law and related matter
To illustrate different aspects of law in relation to Islam
To enhance love and respect for the supreme law of Almighty Allah

p. 18 Chapter X: Pakistan Movement
Explain the Ideology of Pakistan and struggle of Muslims for emergence of an Islamic state; Meaning of Ideology; Significance of Ideology of Pakistan
Develop a sense of gratitude to Almighty Allah for His blessings

p. 19: Chapter XI: Constitutional development
Attain a sense of love for Islamic thought

p. 22 National Integration and Cohesion
Illustrate National Integration and cohesion in Islamic perspective
Remedial measures keeping in view the ideological basis of Pakistan

p. 24 Teaching Strategies
The teachers should be given training and proper orientation to establish commitment with the Islamic beliefs and principles as enunciated in Qur'an and Sunnah

p. 25 Guidelines for the textbook developer
While writing the textbooks, material contrary to the Ideology of Pakistan which may injure the feelings of different sects, or which may create hatred against any Muslim leading personality may be avoided.

2. Textbooks

This Appendix lists all the material from the most recent textbooks published by the Textbook Boards that is clearly insensitive to the religious diversity of the society.

Religion

English Class 6, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002.

P35 – 37
Who am I? I am a Muslim. I am a Pakistani. I love my country and I love my people.
You know that you are a Muslim and your religion is Islam

Urdu Class IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002.

p. 36 – 39 Lesson: The story of the Minar-e-Pakistan
Quotes:

(a) After winning their freedom, they [Muslims] wanted to establish a government in which they could live in accordance with Islam, where every law would be in accordance to Qur'an. But they knew that the Hindus were in a majority in India. After the British leave, they would not let an Islamic state be established here. They would establish a rule of the Hindu law rather than that of the law of the God. In this law, Muslims would be treated as untouchables.
(b) They feared that after getting rid of the slavery of the British, they would become slaves of the Hindus.
(c) The Muslims wished to have a true freedom, in which only Muslim would rule, there would be the rule of the Law of Allah.

Urdu Class IX-X, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, May 2002

p. 8-20 Nazriya-e-Pakistan (Ideology of Pakistan)
The whole essay is insensitive to the religious diversity of the country. In order to justify the creation and existence of Pakistan, it (a) makes historically wrong statements, and (b) uses bad language for Hindus. Examples:
(a) When the British, in the guise of traders, started to establish their rule over the region, the Hindus of higher castes collaborated with them, at times overtly and often covertly. Hindus had a large hand in the defeat of Sirajuddaulah and Tipu Sultan.
(b) After the defeat of Bahadur Shah Zafar and the war of independence of 1857, cooperation between the British and the Hindus further increased, because both of them hated Muslims.
(c) When the rule of the British was established, Hindus were quick to learn the English language, and became tools in the strengthening of the British rule, and simultaneously continued to foster their traditional hatred towards Muslims. And this way they prepared a plan to make Muslims their slaves for ever.

Urdu Class V, PTB, Lahore, May 2002, p108

They [Muslims] knew that the Hindus have always been their enemy. If they get to rule here, then the Muslims will not be able to free live in accordance with the tenets of Islam. After getting rid of the slavery of the British, Muslims will get tied into the slavery of the Hindus.

Urdu Class IV, PTB, Lahore, March 2002, p 37

A statement similar to the above.

Social Studies Textbooks

Social Studies textbooks from Class I to Class V contain 4 to 5 chapters at the end on important personalities, and a majority of them are religious personalities of the early Islam. These ought to have been, and usually are a part of the book on Islamiat. By including them here too, the students, irrespective of their religion, are forced to learn Islamiat.

Examples:

Social Studies Class III, Sindh Textbook Board, Karachi, May 2000
Contains lessons on (1) Hazrat Adam (AS), Hazrat Ibrahim (AS), Hazrat Musa (AS), Hazrat Isa (AS), Hazrat Mohammad (pbuh)

Social Studies Class IV, PTB, Lahore, May 2002
includes lessons on (1) Hazrat Mohammad (pbuh), (2) Hazrat Abu Bakr Siddique (RA); Hazrat Umar Farooq (RA); Hazrat Khadija (RA)

Social Studies Class V, PTB, Lahore, March 2002
Includes lessons on (1) Hazrat Fatima (RA), (2) Mohamad bin Qasim, (3) Shah Waliullah

Class I for Islamabad and the Federal territories — 4/25 lessons are entirely Islamic
Federal Ministry of Education, GOP, Islamabad

Lesson 3: Babaji. The character Babaji is pious because he teaches the Holy Qur'an to children.
He also tells nice things to children like "We are Muslims. We believe in the unity of God. Our prophet Hazrat Mohammad (pbuh) was the last prophet of Allah. Allah revealed the Qur'an on him. The Qur'an is the last book of Allah".

Lesson 18: Manners of Eating
"yes Mother, we have also said *Bismillah* before starting the meal".
"and why do we say *Bismillah before* eating?"
"Because all the things we eat have been made by Allah, and we take Allah's name when eating them."

Lesson 20: The Sun, the moon and the stars
The dawn comes. Birds start to chirp. The call for prayers came from the mosque. People headed for prayers after cleaning themselves.
The sun the moon and the stars are the blessings from Allah. We express gratitude to Allah who has blessed us with these things.

Exercise: Which way do we face when we offer prayers?

Class II for Islamabad and the Federal territories — 5/33 lessons are purely Islamic, and 3 contain unnecessary religious material
Federal Ministry of Education, GOP, Islamabad

Lesson 2: Our Prophet (pbuh)

Lesson 3: Good deeds:
Haris and Nasir (two exemplary boys) wake up early every morning, take bath, go to the mosque and offer prayers.

Lesson 6: Kind people: (After some kind people have helped people in distress) and say,

“Our dear Prophet (pbuh) has taught us to help others in distress. When the companions of our Dear Prophet arrived in Madina, they had nothing with them. The residents of Madina gave them accommodation and sustenance. Allah is pleased by one helping the other.”

Lesson 14: Eid. The lesson is about the month of Ramadhan, fasting, Eid, etc.

Lesson 19: Manners of speaking:
“Our Prophet (pbuh) used to speak so slowly that every listener could hear everything he said. He disliked speaking too loudly. He always told the truth, and ordered others to speak truth also. His sayings were very useful”.
The lesson also describes a student mentioning that the school is going to have competitions of *Tilawat* (rendition of Qur’an), *Na’at* (A poen in the praise of the Prophet (pbuh), and speeches.

Class II, PTB, Lahore, March 2001 12/44 are purely religious, and
10/44 are unnecessarily religious
Therefore half the book is religious

Lesson 2: Good behaviour: This is a lesson from the life of the Prophet (pbuh)

Lesson 6: The blessings of Allah: Starts this way:
“Allah is One, He is the Master of the Earth and the Sky, He is the Provider for all. He created us. He has given us the power of thinking. He has given us eyes. Nose, ears and hands and feet which we make use of.” And so on.

Lesson 23: Sacrifice: This lesson is all about a story around Hazrat Ali (RA).

Lesson 24: Brotherhood: This lesson is about the pilgrimage of Prohpet Mohammad (pbuh) and his companions to Madina.

Lesson25: Good habits:

(1) “First Waseem did *tilawat* and presented its translation, then Nasimah sang a *Na’at*.
(2) Our Prophet (pbuh) taught us to tell truth.
(3) Start your meal with Bismillah.
(4) Thank Allah after finishing meal

Lesson 32: Hazrat Sultan Bahoo. This lesson is about a Muslim saint-poet.

Lesson 35: The month of Ramadhan: All about Ramadhan, fasting, prayers and Eid.

Lesson 39 The Eid of Sacrifice: The lesson is all about the Muslim festival of Eid-al-Azha, and about sacrificing animals. The picture shows an animal with a slit throat and blood.

Lesson 44: Nice sayings:
“Good are those who read the Qur’an and help others read the Qur’an”. “Allah rewards the hard work”. “Allah likes cleanliness”. “He whose parents are pleased with him will go to the heavens”.

Class III, Federal Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, 14th Edition, 2001 (Teesri Darsi Kitab, Trial Edition for Islamabad and Federal Area)

Part I

Lesson 1: Bismillah

Lesson 2: Prayer

Lesson 3: Sadiq and Ameen (A lesson on the Holy Prophet (pbuh))

Lesson 28: Iqra (learning to read the Qur’an)

Part II

Lesson I: Hamare Nabi (Our Prophet (pbuh))
Lesson 2: Hazrat Ali (RA)
Lesson 13: Hazrat Umar (RA)
Lesson 16: Sab se Barhi Qurbani (about Hazrat Ibrahim (AS))
Lesson 29: Seven lessons on reading Qur'an.

Class III, PTB, Lahore, March 2002

19/51 are purely religious, 4 are semi religious. Hence a total of 23 out of 51 lessons teach Islamiat. Seven of the 19 lessons teach learning to read Qur'an.
Also, the idea of selling books of five subjects in one volume forces students of all religions to buy Qur'ani Qaeda.
Note that Qur'ani Qaeda is not a part of the prescribed curriculum.

Lesson 1: Hamd (In praise of Allah)
Lesson 2: In praise of Prophet Mohammad (pbuh)
Lesson 4: The Holy Qur'an
Lesson 5: *Na'at* in praise of the Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 6: Reading the Qur'an I
Lesson 11: Doing good to the nasty: A story from the life of the Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 12: Reading the Qur'an II
Lesson 14: The mastery of Allah: A nice story about sky-watching, sun, phases of moon, but in between the following sentences: "Allah has spread these tiny stars in the sky.
Lesson 15: Hazrat Khadija (RA)
Lesson 18: Reading the Qur'an II
Lesson 20: *Namaz* (prayers)
Lesson 22: *Rozah* (fasting)
Lesson 24: Reading the Qur'an III
Lesson 30: Reading the Qur'an IV
Lesson 31; Hazrat Ibrahim (AS)
Lesson 32: Stories: A story from the life of the Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 34: Hazrat Umar Farooq (RA)
Lesson 36: Reading the Qur'an V
Lesson 40: Qur'anic verses
Lesson 41: Hazrat Ali (AS)
Lesson 49: Good sayings: 7 of the 16 sayings are done in Islamic context.

Class IV: PTB, Lahore March 2002 — 10/45 lessons

Lesson 1: *Hamd*
Lesson 2: Our Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 4: The brotherhood of Madina; from the life of the Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 7: *Na'at*
Lesson 20: The preaching of Islam
Lesson 23: O' Quaid-e-Azam: A poem that talks of defeating *kafirs*, Jinnah as a *mard-e-mujahid* who worked for Islam
Lesson 24: Silent sevice: A story about Hazrat Umar (RA)
Lesson 27: Little Girl, Big Deed: The story of Hazrat Asma bint Abu Bakr (RA)
Lesson 28: True sayings: all but only a few are from Islam
Lesson 30: O'My Land (poem):

"Thy law is Qur'an, Each Muslim is ready to sacrifice his life for thee, Thou are my religion and my faith".

Lesson 34: The reward of kindness, a story of being rewarded by Allah
Lesson 37: Mian Waris Shah, a saintly poet
Lesson 43: Hazrat Umme Saleem (RA): The story of a companion of the Prophet (pbuh)

Class V, PTB, Lahore, March 2002 7/34

Lesson 1: *Hamd*
Lesson 2: Blessings on the World; a lesson about the Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 5: The sacrifice of Hazrat Usman (RA)
Lesson 6: Respect for teachers: A story from the Abbaisd caliphs
Lesson 15: Our Prophet (pbuh); a poem
Lesson 16: The message of love; an essay on love for humanity in the context of the teachings of *Sufia Kiram*
Lesson 27: *Ghuzva-e-Badr*, the holy war of Badr
Lesson 8: The unity of the Islamic countries

Class VI: PTB, Lahore, March 2002 14/46

Lesson 2: The Holy Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 3: *Na'at*
Lesson 4: Hazrat Khadija (RA)
Lesson 5: Jamila's home;

"Our dear Prophet (pbuh) considered begging very bad. He always taught to live modestly so as to avoid depending upon others."

Question: What did our Dear Prophet (pbuh) consider as bad, and why?
Lesson 7: The greatness of Muslims: A poem by Hali, all about Muslims' glorious past.
Lesson 17: Two adolescent mujahids: A story from the early days of Islam (The holy war of Badr
Lesson 19: Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh: The story of a saint
Lesson 27: Hazrat Sa'ad bin Abi Waqas (RA): The story of one of the companions of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 31: Health is a great blessing: A lesson on general hygiene that argues from Islamic perspectives:

"Once a king sent a physician to the Prophet to help Him and the residents of Madina in medical care. No one came to him for two years. The Prophet (pbuh) explained; "We do not fall ill because we eat when we feel hungry, and before complete satiation, we stop eating. This is why they do not fall ill". Fathers says: So, we should abide by the golden principle that our Prophet (pbuh) himself described. The son says: Yes Father, I will try to abide by the sacred saying of our Prophet (pbuh).

Lesson 34: Respect for teachers: A story from the Abbasid caliphates
Lesson 36: In search of Truth: A story on Hazrat Salman Farsi (RA) A companion of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 40: Only a Dirham: A story in which the wisdom of Hazrat Ali (RA) is narrated
Lesson 43: Golden sayings: Most of them are from Islamic viewpoint
Lesson 45: Prayer: Islamic context.

Class VII: PTB, Lahore, March 2002 16/53

Lesson 2: The truthfulness and honesty of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 3: *Na'at*

Lesson 4: Hazrat Ayesha Siddiqua
Lesson 5: Allama Iqbal: All the lesson is in the Islamic context
Lesson 6: *Jashn-e-Eid Milad-un-Nabi*
Lesson 7: The Pakistan Movement: all in the Islamic context
Lesson 10: Hazrat Khalid bin Waeed, a companion of the Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 17: The etiquettes of the National Flag: Quotes a story from the early Islamic history
Lesson 23: Discipline: Teaches it with examples from the early Islamic history
Lesson 24: Adl-e-Farooqui; a poem narrating an event from the life of Hazrat Umar Farooq
Lesson 26: *Ghuzva-e-Uhd* (the holy war of Uhd)
Lesson 27: Where does the smoke come from? A lesson in environmental degradation. Contains several statements that allude to arguing with the help of Islamic beliefs. Allah has made everything. Allah has not made anything without reason. Hasan; "Sister, I have read in my book on Islamiat that Our Dear Prophet (pbuh) laid a lot of stress on cleanliness…"
Lesson 30: Hazrat Sacchal Sarmast; a saint poet
Lesson 41: Sayings of the Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 45: Sacrifice. A story from the early history of Islam
Lesson 47: A leaf from my diary: Contains :

> "As usual I got up with the sound of *azaan*…. I my self offered prayers and asked my younger brothers and sisters to do so. I was glad seeing them offer prayers. I always start my day with prayers. A day started with the name of Allah passes very peacefully. After the prayers I read the holy Qur'an, which is also my daily routine. Reading Allah's word gives me an immense spiritual fulfillment. … Saying salam to my parents while leaving the house or returning to the house is my habit. I am happy that my parents feel happy on this, Allah is also pleased, and a *sunnah* of the holy Prophet (pbuh) is also fulfilled. It is a gain, and only gain.

Class VIII: PTB, Lahore, March 2002 15/46

Lesson 2: Forgiver of the sinners, from the life of the holy Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 5: *Na'at*
Lesson 6: Hazrat Bilal (RA), a companion of the holy Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 10: Establishment of Pakistan: A full paragraph in this essay on the importance of Pakistan comig into being on *lailat-ul-Qadr* (27^{th} of Ramadhan).
Lesson 14: Islamic brotherhood
Lesson 19: *Shaheed-e-Karbala*: A lesson about Hazrat Imam Hussain (AS)
Lesson 23: Hazrat Zainab (RA), a grand daughter of the prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 24: Blessings of Islam (a poem by Hali)
Lesson 25: Controlling narcotics.

> "For us Muslims, this problem is two-fold because it intoxication is completely forbidden in our religion. The use of intoxicants has been termed in the Qur'an as the work of Satan. …

Lesson 26: The consequences of dishonesty. A biblical story
Lesson 27: Hazrat Bahauddin Zakaria; a saint
Lesson 30: The Pakistan Movement and the Ulema
Lesson 39: Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, an author of the life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 42: *Eid-e-Milad-un-Nabi*.
Lesson 46: Prayer; by Iqbal but only from Muslims

Class IX-X, PTB, Lahore, May 2002 10/68

Lesson 1: *Uswah-e-Kamil*, from the life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 10: *Hijrat-e-Habshah*, from the life of the Holy Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 12: Hazrat Luqman. Although about a pre-Islam person, but heavily drawing from Islam.
Lesson 14: *Khush Khulqi* (pleasant behaviour). An essay in the noble character of the Prophet (pbuh)
Lesson 1 of the Nazm part: *Hamd*
Lesson 2 of the Nazm part: *Na'at*
Lesson 5 of the Nazm part: Marsiah Mir Anis: The heat in the Karbala Battlefield
Lesson 6 of the Nazm part: The Shahadat of Imam Hussain
Lesson 14 of the Nazm part: Fatimah bint Abdullah
Lesson 16 of the Nazm part: The arrival of the Prophet (pbuh) in Madina

English Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002 3/26 lessons

Hate Material

> Hindu has always been an enemy of Islam.[131]
>
> The religion of the Hindus did not teach them good things -- Hindus did not respect women...[132]
>
> Hindus worship in temples which are very narrow and dark places, where they worship idols. Only one person can enter the temple at a time. In our mosques, on the other hand, all Muslims can say their prayers together.[133]
>
> This division of men [among Aryans] into different castes is the worst example of tyranny in the history of the world. In course of time the Aryans began to be called the Hindus.[134]
>
> 'the social evils of the Hindus'[135]
>
> "The Hindus lived in small and dark houses. Child marriage was common in those days. Women were assigned a low position in society. In case the husband of a woman died, she was burnt alive with his dead body. This was called 'sati'. … The killing of shudras was not punished, but the murder of a Brahman was a serious crime. … However, the people of low caste were not allowed to learn this language. The caste system had made their life miserable."[136]
>
> Muslim children of India wear shalwar kameez or shirt and pajama and Hindu children wear Dhoti also.[137]

131 Urdu Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 108
132 Muasherati Ulum for Class IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1995, p 81
133 Muasherati Ulum for Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1996, p 109
134 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 59
135 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 59
136 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 67
137 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, p 79

Hindus thought that there was no country other than India, nor any people other than the Indians, nor did anyone else possess any knowledge[138]. [Amazingly, this sentence, meant to denigrate Hindus, describes the response of the local people to Al Beruni's visit to India. This is despite the fact that Alexander the Greek had come to this land many centuries earlier, that the rule of the Mauryas and the Guptas stretched to the lands from where Al Beruni had come, that the Arabs had conquered Sindh before Al Beruni's visit, that the Arab conquest was also aimed against the Ismailis who had settled in the area around Multan much earlier, and that the Arabic mathematics was deeply influenced by the Indian mathematics, etc., etc.]

Hindu pundits were jealous of Al Beruni. Since they could not compete against Al Beruni in knowledge, they started calling him a magician.[139]

The Sultans of Delhi were tolerant in religious matters. They never forced the non-Muslims to convert to Islam. The Hindus embraced Islam due to the kind treatment of the Muslims.

The caste system of the Hindus had made the life of the common people miserable. They were treated like animals. Nobody could claim equality with Brahmins.[140]

[A story "The Enemy Pilot", about a captured Indian pilot, presumably of Hindu faith] He had only been taught never to have pity on Muslims, to always bother the neighbouring Muslims, to weaken them to the extent that they forget about freedom, and that it is better to finish off the enemy. He remembered that the Hindus tried to please their Devi Kali by slaughtering innocent people of other faiths at her feet; that they regarded everybody else as untouchables. He knew that his country India had attacked Pakistan in the dead of the night to bleed Pakistani Muslims and to dominate the entire Subcontinent.[141]

The Hindus who have always been opportunists cooperated with the English.[142]

The Hindus praised the British rule and its blessings in their speeches

The Hindus had the upper hand in the Congress and they established good relations with the British. This party tried its best to safeguard the interests of the Hindus. Gradually it became purely a Hindu organization. Most of the Hindu leaders of the Congress were not prepared to tolerate the presence of the Muslims in the sub-continent. They demanded that the Muslims should either embrace Hinduism or leave the country.

The party was so close to the Government that it would not let the Government do any work as would be of benefit to the Muslims. The partition of Bengal can be quoted as an example.[143]

138 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 82
139 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 82
140 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 109
141 Urdu Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 221
142 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 141
143 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 143

…but Hindus very cunningly succeeded in making the British believe that the Muslims were solely responsible for the [1857] rebellion.[144]

The British confiscated all lands [from the Muslims] and gave them to Hindus.[145]

In December 1885, an Englishman Mr. Humes … formed a political party named Indian National Congress, the purpose of which was to politically organize Hindus.[146]

Therefore in order to appease the Hindus and the Congress, the British announced political reforms. Muslims were not eligible to vote. Hindus voter never voted for a Muslim, therefore, …[147]
[A shear distortion, and a blatant lie that the Muslims were ineligible to vote]

The height of Hindu-Muslim amity was seen during the Khilafat Movement, but as soon as the movement was over, the anti-Muslim feelings among Hindus resurfaced.[148]

Nehru report exposed the Hindu mentality.[149]

The Quaid saw through the "machinations" of the Hindus.[150]

Hindus declared the Congress rule as the Hindu rule, and started to unleash terror on Muslims.[151]
At the behest of the government [during the Congress rule], Hindu "goondas" started killing Muslims and burning their property.[152]

The Hindus always desired to crush the Muslims as a nation. Several attempts were made by the Hindus to erase the Muslim culture and civilisation. Hindi-Urdu controversy, shudhi and sanghtan movements are the most glaring examples of the ignoble Hindu mentality.[153]

The British, with the assistance of the Hindus, adopted a cruel policy of mass exodus against the Muslims to erase them as a nation

The British adopted a policy of large scale massacre (mass extermination) against the Muslims

The Muslim population of the Muslim minority provinces faced atrocities of the Hindu majority

144 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 90
145 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 91 [This is stated despite the fact that all the large feudal lords in the part that later formed Pakistan were Muslims]
146 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 94
147 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 94-95
148 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 100
149 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 102
150 Social Studies Class-VII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, ?, p 51
151 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 104
152 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 104-105
153 M. Ikram Rabbani and Monawar Ali Sayyid, An Introduction to Pakistan studies, The Caravan Book House, Lahore, 1995, p 12

[The Muslims] were not allowed to profess their religion freely

Hindu nationalism was being imposed upon Muslims and their culture

All India Congress turned into a pure Hindu organisation

The Congress was striving very hard to project the image of united India, which was actually aimed at the extermination of the Muslims from the Indian society

The two Hindu organisations [Congress and Mahasabha] were determined to destroy the national character of the Muslims to dominate and subjugate them perpetually. [154]

While the Muslims provided all type of help to those wishing to leave Pakistan, the people of India committed cruelties against the Muslims (refugees). They would attack the buses, trucks, and trains carrying the Muslim refugees and they were murdered and looted.[155]

The Hindus in Pakistan were treated very nicely when they were migrating as opposed to the inhuman treatment meted out to the Muslim migrants from India. (Musalmanon nein Pakistan se janay walay Hinduon ko her qissam ki sahulatein deen , lekin Baharat ke logon nein Musalmnon per bohat Zulm kiyay).[156]

After the Cripps Missions, Congress raised the “Quit India” slogan, which meant the British should leave, handing over the rule to Hindus.[157]

After 1965 war India conspired with the Hindus of Bengal and succeeded in spreading hate among the Bengalis about West Pakistan and finally attacked on East Pakistan in December 71, thus causing the breakup of East and West Pakistan.[158]

154 National Curriculum English (Compulsory) for Class XI-XII, March 2002, pp 6, 13, 31, 45, 7, 25, 8, 46, 48, 50

155 National Early Childhood Education Curriculum (NECEC), Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, March 2002, p 85

156 Social Studies Class- IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, p. 85

157 Social Studies, Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 110

158 Social Studies (in Urdu) Class- V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, p 112

CHAPTER 3

Historical Falsehoods and Inaccuracies

Ahmed Salim

Much has been written on fabrication of false histories to suit political ideologies both in Pakistan and India. History continues to be used as a tool of indoctrination in favour of controversial ideologies. As enemy images are created in the name of history, textbooks pollute the minds and impregnate imagination of millions of children in both countries with hatred and animosity towards each other. State-sponsored textbooks illustrate how history has been appropriated to reinforce national philosophies or ideologies. Historical interpretations are therefore predetermined, impregnable and concretised.

In Pakistan, the impression one gets from textbooks on the subjects of Social/Pakistan studies is that students don't learn history. Rather, they are forced to read a carefully crafted collection of falsehoods and fairy tales. . History has been used to churn out a mythology about the struggle that led to the creation of Pakistan. Ayesha Jalal analyses history as an official imagining tool to conjure Pakistan:

> *"…when petty officials carry the brief of writing history as victory, the imaginings of power can discard the stray 'truths' of pure inspiration and pretend to monopolize the enterprise of creativity. A sort of amnesia descends…*
>
> *Twisted this way and that, the educational system became hooked to officially concocted national soporifics very early on in the day. The rewriting of history from an Islamic point of view, however defined, was given the highest priority by the managers of the state and has since been refined to a bureaucratic art by national research societies and central or provincial textbook boards. A state-controlled curriculum guarantees a captive market for the history textbooks. These are the official gospels teachers advise students to learn by rote if they want to make a decent showing in examination, especially those leading to the matriculation, intermediate and bachelor's degrees. The gems of wisdom contained in textbooks rarely survive the writing of the exam. But with help from the state-controlled media, the lessons learnt in school and college serves as the alphabet and the grammar that makes psyches literate in the idioms of national*

> *ideology. To know the alphabet and grammar of the textbooks is to uncover the idioms employed to nationalise the Pakistani past."*[159]

Early Studies

In his brilliant study Murder of History in Pakistani Textbooks, K.K. Aziz has provided the reader with the major inaccuracies, distortions, exaggerations and slants to be found in each officially prepared and prescribed textbook and in a representative selection of private commercial publications which are in wide use as textbooks. In his thorough and fascinating dissection of 66 Pakistan Studies and History textbooks, he has compiled an extensive list of the errors they contain. The eight categories of these errors open our eyes to the various ways, in which history has been manipulated, polluted, ill-used and trampled over. He has not only identified these errors, but has also tried to correct them. For instance, he quoted the following statement from a textbook:

> *"After the partition of the subcontinent the Hindus and Sikhs started a properly planned campaign of exploiting the Muslims generally in the whole of Bharat and particularly in East Punjab as a result of which the Hindu and Sikh enemies of mankind killed and dishonoured thousands, nay hundreds of thousands of women, children, the old and the young with extreme cruelty and heartlessness."*
>
> Aziz's reply is*: "the Hindus and Sikhs were not the only aggressors in the riots of 1947; Muslims also killed and raped and looted wherever they had the opportunity."*[160]

Rubina Saigol's analysis of Pakistani educational policies and curriculum reveals the way in which the nation states' ideologies are realised in actual textual practice[161]. In her words, this led to an exploration of the translation of official policies into action at the level of text production. The subtle but significant differences between the Ayub, Bhutto and Zia era education policies do appear in the curriculum, although there is an immense overlap which lends credence to the argument that Pakistan has remained essentially a military state even during ostensibly civilian rule. The governments may have changed over time, but the state rhetoric has remained fundamentally the same, although it has made adjustments according to the needs of a particular time. The best example is Zia's Islamization. However, the argument here is that Islamization served essentially the same purpose for Zia, which the ideology of national development served for Ayub or the rhetoric of socialism for Bhutto. The purpose was state legitimisation for capital expansion and consolidation.

Mubarak Ali, A. H. Nayyar, Khurshid Hasanain, Pervez Hoodbhoy and Tariq Rahman have also looked into the distortion in History and Social Studies textbooks. For Tariq Rahman, history is mutilated in Pakistan's textbooks to construct a mind-set that serves the broader polities of state. Young and impressionable minds are impregnated with seeds of hatred to serve the self-styled ideological strait-jacket:

> *"The state's major objectives - creating nationalism and support for the military - are attained by repeating a few basic messages in all the books. First, the non-*

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159 Ayesha Jalal, "Conjuring Pakistan: History as official Imagination", International journal of Middle East Studies, 27, 1995, *pp. 73-89*

160 K.K. Aziz, Murder of History in Pakistan, Lahore, 1993

161 Rubina Saigol, Knowledge and Identity: Articulation of Gender in Educational Discourse in Pakistan, ASR, 1995, p.205

Muslim part of Pakistan is ignored. Second, the borrowing from Hindu culture is either ignored or condemned. Third, the Pakistan movement is portrayed mostly in terms of the perfidy of Hindus and the British and the righteousness of the Muslims. After the partition, in which Hindus are reported to have massacred Muslims while Muslims are not shown to have treated the Hindus in the same manner, India is portrayed as the enemy, which is waiting to dismember Pakistan. The separation of Bangladesh in 1971 is portrayed as proof of this Indian policy rather than the result of the domination of the West Pakistan over East Bengal. Above all, the 1948, 1965 and 1971 wars are blamed entirely on India, and Pakistan is shown to have won the 1965 war. The armed forces are not only glorified but treated as if they were sacrosanct and above criticism. All eminent personalities associated with the Pakistan movement, especially M.A. Jinnah and Iqbal, are presented as orthodox Muslims and any aspect of their thoughts and behaviour which does not conform to this image is suppressed. Indeed, the overall effect of the ideological lessons is to make Islam reinforce and legitimise both Pakistani nationalism and militarisation."[162]

In their joint study on conflict and violence in educational processes, Khurshid Hasanain and A.H. Nayyar have tried to show that the cumulative effect of educational acts of commission and omission by the state has been to create an intolerant mindset that is deeply susceptible to chauvinistic slogans and calls for violence, and is unwilling to accept the diversity of beliefs and cultures that exists within the country. They concluded that the Pakistani State has intervened in the educational process in two fundamental ways. First, it has encouraged students to be uncritical, submissive to authority and treat education as a process simply of memorizing certain ‘facts’. At the same time, it encourages teachers to adopt the authoritarian attitude required for establishing the finality of their word and that in textbooks. Second, it has enforced the distortion of historical facts in textbooks, encouraged religious chauvinism and glorified militarism. It has also deprived students of the role models who could have inspired and motivated them towards creativity and to address the conflicts of their society in a humanistic compassionate and intelligent manner.[163]

The Problem

It would be interesting to find if the approach to link history with ideology was adopted soon after the independence in 1947 or if it crept in gradually later on. The exact answer to this question requires a serious examination of the textbooks to pinpoint what, when and where this process began. In this regard, one hypothesis is that is was only after the East Pakistan debacle in 1971 that we started distorting facts in order to discover our roots somewhere else instead of the rich Indus-Ganges civilization and laid the first brick of overemphasizing a ‘separate Pakistani Identity’ through textbooks.

The Pakistani textbooks during 1950s and 1960s were not shy of describing in detail and at times in an appreciative manner the ancient Hindu history and culture. All the books started with the most ancient South Asian civilizations of Moen Jo Daro, Harappa and Gandhra, narrated in detail the indigenous mythologies without any element of denigration, recounted the grandeur of the early Hindu and Budhist kingdoms, etc. Some of them were even occasionally critical of the Muslim heroes also, as in the quotation below.

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162 Tariq Rahman, Language-Teaching and World View in Urdu Medium Schools, Research Papers Series, SDPI, Islamabad, 1995.

163 Khurshid Hasanain and A.H. Nayyar, *Conflict and Violence in the Educational Process* in *Making Enemies, Creating Conflict: Pakistan's Crises of State and Society*', edited by Zia Mian and Iftikhar Ahmad, Mashal, Lahore, 1997.

We have a high regard for Mohammad bin Qasim. He laid the foundation for the Muslim rule in India. But the first brick of the foundation was defective. Therefore the structure erected on this foundation turned out to be defective and fragile, not destined to last long. Had Mohammad bin Qasim and the conquerors that followed relied less on sword to increase their numerical strength ad more on preaching and other methods, we would have been spared the events because of which we are presently facing tribulations.[164]

There were few if any false stories regarding Muslim Kings and their conquests. Most interestingly, the history books in the early years of Pakistan were fair to modern Indian leaders and heroes like Mr. M. K. Gandhi. Book after book of that time was reverential to his personality, appreciated his politics and acknowledged his immense contribution to saving Muslims from carnage in the Hindu majority areas.[165]

Starting with the Bhutto years and accelerating under the Islamized tutelage of General Zia-ul-Haq, not only has the history of the subcontinent been distorted, but has also been vilified, mocked and transformed into a measure of what Pakistan is not. A renewed search for identity after the events of 1971, and Islamization of education can be identified as the impelling factors.

This transformation, however, did not come about. The process had started from day one. As early as November 1947, the Government held a conference of educationists to lay down the guidelines from the future educational policies. It is interesting to note that even in Mr. Jinnah's life and prior to the imposition of the Objectives Resolution, there was the resolution of the Pakistan Educational Conference, recommending the adoption of Islamic Ideology as the basis of education. The textbooks during Ayub era, however, were a balance between traditionalists and modernists. A new educational policy in Yahya Khan days was more receptive to Islamic interests than Ayub's policies had been.

The curricula and textbooks of Bhutto's new Pakistan emerged through the dismemberment of the state. Because the Two-Nation Theory was perceived to have come under attack, there was a renewed emphasis on the Two-Nation Theory in the form of the Ideology of Pakistan and on finding the roots of Pakistani nation in the neighbouring lands to the west - i.e., Iran, Afghanistan, the Arab World and the Central Asia - again based on religion. Bhutto's Education Policy promised ensuring the preservation, promotion and practice of the basic ideology of Pakistan and making it a code of individual and national life. When Bhutto strove to win the support of the religious sectors, he had the textbooks revised to reflect his policies.

Zia-ul-Haq started the process of Islamization in full measure. The textbooks continued to lay even greater stress on the Islamic perspective of historical events. The new education policy of 1979 was presented as a five-year programme. It listed nine national aims of education. The first four highlighted Zia's political agenda of Islam. The phrase 'Ideology of Pakistan' was re-installed with vigour and all the textbooks were re-written to reassert the Islamic orientation of Pakistani nationalism according to Gen. Zia's Socio-political concepts.

164 Syed Abdul Qadir and Mohammd Shujauddin, *Tareekh-e-Pakistan-o-Hind*, Vol I, Lahore, Third edition, February 1956.

165 See for example: Mian Abdul Hakim, *Model Tareekh-e-Hindustan for High Classes*, Lahore, 1947, pp. 492-493; Choudhry Rehmat Khan, *Mufeed Tareekh-e-Pak-o-Hind*, Lahore, March 1952, pp. 751-752; *Mashaheer* Part 3, for Boys and Girls of Class 5, Lahore, 1951, pp 73, 76-78; Ghulam Rasul Mehr, *Tareekh-e-Pakistan-o-Hind*, Part 2, Lahore,1950, pp. 399-400.

At the secondary and intermediate levels, the subject of Pakistan Studies, a composite of distorted stories of pre-Islamic India, falsified accounts of Muslim kings, distorted justification of the Two-Nation Theory, Muslim heroes and discussions of the superiority of Islamic principles replaced the subjects of history and geography. All history that concerned pre-Islamic events of the territory that now constitutes Pakistan, such as the old Hindu and Budhist empires, was eliminated from textbooks.

A deeper examination of the present Pakistan Studies, Social Studies, History, Civics and Urdu textbooks reveals that the Hindus are uniformly portrayed in them as backward and superstitious. It is told that they burnt their widows and wives and that Brahmins were inherently cruel, and if given a chance, would assert their power over the weak, especially Muslims and Shuddras, depriving them of education. In their Social Studies classes, students are taught that since Islam brought peace, equality, and justice to the subcontinent therefore only through Islam could the sinister ways of the Hindus be held in check. In Pakistani textbooks the word “Hindu” rarely appears in a sentence without the use of adjectives ‘conniving’ or ‘manipulative’.

The curriculum and textbooks of Social Studies Class VII relate only to the ‘Muslim World’, which becomes problematic when describing ‘Mountains of the Muslim World’, Rivers of the Muslim World’, ‘Seas of the Muslim World’, etc., because physical geography neither has a religion nor does it follow ideology, and the Ummah or ‘Muslim World’ is an ideological and abstract constructions. This has been in the Class VII textbooks since the early nineties and is still present.

In ‘Civics’ of class IX & X[166], the Muslim Ummah is shown as having only one ideology despite being separated territorially, and despite having hostile differences among many. This is incorrect, as not only are there Shia Sunni differences, interpretations of Islam differ from country to country and even within countries among sect and classes, regions etc. The curricula and textbooks fail to mention this diversity within Islam to enable a student of 9 and 10 grasp it along with the points of contradiction in interpretations; this can lead to developing good critical skills

A unique view of Pakistan

In these books, Muhammad-bin-Qasim is declared the first Pakistani citizen. In Social Studies for Class VI (Sindh Textbook Board, 1997), the story of the Arabs’ arrival in Sindh is accounted as the first moment of Pakistan with the glorious ascendancy of Islam. This textbook teaches the young sixth-class school children of Sindh that, “The Muslims knew that the people of South Asia were infidels and they kept thousands of idols in their temples”. The Sindhi king, Raja Dahir, is described as cruel and despotic. “The non-Brahmans who were tired of the cruelties of Raja Dahir, joined hands with Muhammad-bin-Qasim because of his good treatment.”[167]

According to this historical narration:

> *“the conquest of Sindh opened a new chapter in the history of South Asia. Muslims had ever-lasting effects of their existence in the region… For the first time the people of Sindh were introduced to Islam, its political system and way of government. The people here had seen only the atrocities of the Hindu Rajas… the people of Sindh were so much impressed by the benevolence of Muslims*

166 ‘Civics’ class IX & X, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore March 2001, pp. 19-20
167 Ibid

> *that they regarded Muhammad-bin-Qasim as their saviour… Muhammad bin-Qasim stayed in Sindh for over three years. On his departure from Sindh, the local people were overwhelmed with grief."*[168]

An extraordinary result of defining Pakistan in terms of religion alone is something which is unprecedented in historical narration, let alone school textbooks. A textbook of Pakistan Studies states:

> "…. as a matter of fact, Pakistan came to be established for the first time when the Arabs led by Muhammad-bin-Qasim occupied Sindh and Multan in the early years of the eighth century, and established Muslim rule in this part of the South-Asian Sub-continent. Pakistan under the Arabs comprised the Lower Indus Valley."[169]

It is interesting to note the flight of imagination of the history book author:

> *"…. during the 11th century the Ghaznavid Empire comprised what is now Pakistan and Afghanistan. During the 12th century the Ghaznavids lost Afghanistan, and their rule came to be confined to Pakistan. … By the 13th century, Pakistan had spread to include the whole of Northern India and Bengal… Under the Khiljis Pakistan moved further Southward to include a greater part of Central India and the Deccan… Many Mongols accepted Islam. As such Pakistan remained safe for Islam… During the 16th century, 'Hindustan' disappeared and was completely absorbed in 'Pakistan'… Under Aurangzeb the Pakistan spirit gathered in strength. This evoked the opposition of the Hindus… After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the process of the disintegration of Mughal Rule set in, and weakened the Pakistan Spirit… The shape of Pakistan in the 18th Century was thus more or less the same as it was under the Ghaznavids in the 11th century."*[170]

This is not the end. The author continues:

> *"Shah Waliullah accordingly appealed to Ahmad Shah Durrani, the ruler of Afghanistan and 'Pakistan' to come to the rescue of the Muslims of Mughal India, and save them from the tyrannies of the Marhattas… Ahmad Shah Durrani died in 1773, and with his death things became dark for the Muslims both in 'Pakistan' and Mughal India. In the 'Pakistan' territories the Sikhs raised their head in the Punjab and became a great headache for the successors of Ahmad Shah Durrani… In the 'Pakistan' territories, where a Sikh state had come to be established, the Muslims were denied the freedom of religion. The Mujahideen set up an Islamic state in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) which was a manifestation of Pakistan spirit… Thus by the middle the 19th century both 'Pakistan' and Hindustan had ceased to exist; instead British India had come into existence.*
>
> *Although Pakistan was created in August 1947, yet except for its name, the present-day Pakistan has existed, as a more or less single entity, for centuries.*[171]

168 ibid
169 A Textbook of Pakistan Studies, compulsory, by M.D Zafar, Lahore, p.4
170 Ibid. pp. 4-8
171 Ibid. pp. 9-23

Freedom Struggle/Two Nation Theory

As far as freedom struggle and the contemporary history of Pakistan is concerned, all the textbooks are full of errors and false statements. The history in these books is claimed an unpunctured and smooth fabric and is presented exclusively in religious terms i.e., Hindus versus Muslims and no economic, historical, social or political causes given; two nation theory justified and all history of mutual co-existence denied. For example, a grave historical distortion appears when all resistance in 1857 is claimed for Muslims whereas the Hindus and Sikhs were also a part of it.[172]

Regarding congress ministries in India, the following long statement exemplifies the communal narration of history:

> *"This was the first instance of rule by representative and responsible governments in India. The Congress had been demanding for a long time that power should be exercised to the maximum extent by the people of India. Since it claimed to be a party representing all the communities, it was a test of its claims. Moreover the future political system of India also depended on the new dispensation. However, the party failed miserably in this test. Notwithstanding verbal claims to being representative it showed itself to be a narrow-minded Hindu organizaton. In the provinces ruled by it many measures were undertaken which grievously harmed the interests and rights of the Muslims. The most significant of these was the introduction of Hindi as the official language and the medium of instruction. This was part of the attempt to foist Hindu culture and civilization in the subcontinent. The reaction of Muslim leaders to this attempt was violent, but the Hindus paid no heed to it and went on with the policy of imposing Hindi in their provinces. In addition the Congress flag was treated as the national flag and the poem "Bande Mataram" as the national song. The Congress flag was flown on all official and semi-official buildings, though the Muslims were not allowed to fly the Muslim League flag on the premises of municipal committees where they were in a majority.*
>
> *"In order to create confusion in the ranks of the Muslims and to weaken the Muslim League, the Congress launched a popular Muslim contact campaign, during which disgraceful attacks were made on the personalities of Muslim leaders, particularly the Quaid-e-Azam. The campaign was aimed solely at Muslims and the objective was to loosen their links with the Muslim League. No elected member of the League was included in the provincial councils of ministers, whereas the impression was current during the elections that the two parties would form coalition governments. The Congress studiously abstained from this, and, in fact, tried to harm the very existence of the League as a party. This added to the gulf of differences between the two parties.*
>
> *"The Congress also introduced the Wardha and Vidya Mandir education schemes in its provinces. The Wardha scheme aimed at infusing Indian nationalism in children, and the textbooks prepared under it were crammed with lessons in Hindu culture and the over-idealised exploits of heroic Hindu personalities. Vidya Mandir too was part of this programme and one of its objectives was to open schools in every village to impart education in the mother tongue. The Congress also introduced on 2 October 1938 the worship of M.K.*

172 Social Studies Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore p. 108

Gandhi's portrait in the schools on his birthday, wearing of the Gandhi cap and singing of the "Bande Mataram". On this Muslims of many areas expressed their deep displeasure. During the same period the Hindus gave a fillip to the campaign of cow protection, and this led to much armed conflict due to the Muslims' defence of their right to slaughter cows. The administration invariably sided with the Hindus. At many places the conflict led to rioting in which the Muslims suffered considerable losses, because the police held them responsible. They also faced many problems in obtaining employment and due representation in municipal committees, etc."[173]

Civics textbooks carry on with many of the faults of social studies in that there is no coherent order of the contents. The ideological content is pervasive and the economic and political factors that led to the creation of Pakistan are ignored completely. In 'Civics of Pakistan', for class XI and XII as Rubina Saigol notes several statements are of the same nature.

- A brief History and Ideology of Pakistan - history is immediately divided along communal lines by stating how badly the British treated the Muslims while they showered favours upon the Hindus. This is stated without referring to several extraordinary favours that Muslims received, like separate electorate, partition of Bengal, special job quotas, etc. (Page 1, Chapter 1)
- The partition of Bengal is presented with a great deal of anti-Hindu sentiment and the bad treatment of the Muslims at the hands of Hindus; again history is missing form this History, creating a lot of religious prejudice. (Page 5)
- All history is along religious lines while social, historical, material and economic causes are missing. (Page 6)
- Gandhi is throughout presented as a fundamentalist and extremist; Gandhi's other side as a tolerant and peace loving leader is ignored. (Page 9)
- Tone is again very anti-Gandhi; what is omitted unjustly is that Gandhi was killed by Hindu extremist groups for being too tolerant of the Muslims. (Page 15)
- The bad treatment of Hindus towards Muslims is again repeated, this time in the context of Congress Ministries; the bad treatment was by some of the leaders but the impression created is that all Hindus treated all Muslims badly with no retaliation; this kind of falsification and denial distorts history. (Page 16 and 23)
- Again a great deal of anti-Hindu sentiment; reference to 'Hindu Machiavellianism' to create negative images against Hindus. (Page 24)
- India is accused of mass killing of Muslims which led to mass migration; the same happened on this side of the border, Hindu and Sikhs were also killed but only one side is blamed; students should do critical work on partition and how it led to mass bloodshed, dislocation and break up of families and violence; they should analyze why it happened and how it can be stopped; by blaming mass exodus on 'Hindu India' a very one-sided and uncritical picture is created; since no reasoning or causes or dynamic are presented it sounds very essentialist and biased. (Page 24)

173 Prof. Ikram Ali Malik, Prof. Syed Qamar Abbas, M. Nawazish Ali Beg, Tareekh-e-Pakistan for Class 9 & 10, Lahore, 1993, Pages 239-241

The partition story has also been described with self-serving half-truths. The authors of Mutala-i-Pakistan (class 9-10, NWFP Textbook Board, Peshawar) state that after the establishment of Pakistan the Hindus and Sikhs created a day of doom for the Muslims in East Punjab". Didn't the Muslims create a similar day of doom for the Hindus and the Sikhs in West Punjab and Sindh? The communal killing on a large scale took place in Rawalpindi n Feb-March 1947, termed as the rape of Rawalpindi and it was the work of Muslims, the Sikhs being victims.[174] A more recent book repeats it in different words, again omitting the parallel atrocities committed by the Muslims of West Punjab and Sindh on Sikhs and Hindus.

In yet another book:

> *While the Muslims provided all type of help to those wishing to leave Pakistan, the people of India committed cruelties against the Muslims (refugees). They would attack the buses, trucks and trains carrying the Muslim refugees and they were murdered and looted".*[175]

Such half-truths that are bound to result in a misconceived appreciation of the self and 'the other' cannot be called education.
Regarding 1956 constitution, the following wrong statement is narrated:

> *"At last when in 1956 a constitution was made for the country it never came into operation, and General Ayub Khan took over the government and put an end to this constitution"* [176]

On Page 70, the same author notes:

> *"When the 1956 constitution was made, it had still to operate, when it was abrogated".*[177]

The above statement is factually wrong. The 1956 constitution was operative from 23 March 1956 to 7 Oct 1958. The part that remained non-operative was the elections that were to take place in the later part of 1958.

It is also noteworthy that wars with India are mentioned in patriotic not historical terms.

> *In 1965, "the Pakistan Army conquered several areas of India, and when India was on the point of being defeated she requested the United Nations to arrange a cease-fire."*[178]

There is no evidence whatsoever that India was on the point of being defeated by Pakistan or that it begged for peace or that it asked the United Nations to arrange a cease-fire. The war ended when the big powers intervened.[179]

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174 Khurshid Hasanain and A.H. Nayyer, *Conflict and Violence in the Educational Process* in *Making Enemies, Creating Conflict: Pakistan's Crises of State and Society*', edited by Zia Mian and Iftikhar Ahmad, Mashal, Lahore, 1997.
175 Mazharul Haq, Civics of Pakistan, Intermediate classes Lahore 2000, PP. 104-107.
176 Muashrati Ulum, NWFP Textbook Board, Peshawar, p..65
177 ibid.p.70
178 Muashrati Ulum, Class V, NWFP, Textbook Board, Peshawar, n.d. p.93
179 Ibid.

Similarly a critical and tragic event as the separation of East Pakistan is narrated in a skewed manner, on the one hand hiding the follies in policy making and on the other finding an easy scapegoat in Hindus to further the hate agenda.

> *After the 1965 war, India, with the help of the Hindus living in East Pakistan, instigated the people living there against the people of West Pakistan, and at last in December 1971 herself invaded East Pakistan. The conspiracy resulted in the separation of East Pakistan from us. All of us should receive military training and be prepared to fight the enemy.*[180]

Another textbook puts it this way:

> *"There were a large number of Hindus in East Pakistan. They had never really accepted Pakistan. A large number of them were teachers in schools and colleges. They continued creating a negative impression among the students. No importance was attached to explaining the ideology of Pakistan to the younger generation. The Hindus sent a substantial part of their earnings to Bharat, thus adversely affecting the economy of the province. Some political leaders encouraged provincialism for the selfish purpose of gaining power. They went round depicting the central Government and (the then) West Pakistan as hostile and exploiters. Political aims were thus achieved at the cost of national unity."* [181]

The 1977 coup is described and justified in the following manner:

> *"The Pakistan National alliance started a movement in favour of fresh elections, which gradually turned into the Tahrik-i-Nizam-i-Mustafa. Exhaustive and prolonged talks began between the government and the opposition, but when they produced no positive result and the state of law and order deteriorated, the armed forces, under the leadership of General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, took over the reins of power on 5 July 1977.*[182]

Zia's decision to continue in power is defended in 3 lines:

> *"It was announced that elections will be held within 90 days and power handed over to the representatives of the masses, but the elections scheduled to held in 90 days were postponed for unavoidable reasons".*[183]

The phrase "unavoidable reasons" takes the cake for writing history.

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180 Ibid.
181 Pakistan Studies for secondary classes, Punjab textbook board, Lahore, May 1993, p. 39
182 Mutala-i-Pakistan, Class 9 and 10, Punjab textbook board, Lahore
183 Ibid P 55

CHAPTER 4

Omissions that Could Have Been Enriching

S. Khurshid Hasanain

The educational process is, at one plane, a process of the definition and formation of the individual and collective identity. As the process unfolds itself some of the basic social and psychological concerns of the individual are addressed, whether consciously or unconsciously. Who am I, and what is my relation to the past and to the future? How do I relate to other human beings? What should I do with my life? The personality extending outwards from the confines of the immediate family can make extensions and find affinities of ideas, values, goals and aspirations, often transcending neighborhood, city, country and continent, the extent of liberation depending on the individual's own independence of mind and action. Probably no age has had the opportunity, particularly at the mass level, to form such a liberated and non-parochial outlook as our own. This is in part because of the revolutionizing power of technology i.e. the electronic media and their ability to demystify national and cultural differences and the freedom to trash popularly held but false notions. However the same technological capabilities in tandem with coercive political mechanisms and systematic indoctrination can be used to subvert the process of education from being a liberating experience to one that creates an identity hostile to all manifestations of difference, alienated from much of its own past and most of its present.

This is the saga and the tragedy of the present day Pakistani education system, deeply committed to attaining certain ideological and political goals and the formation of a specific "identity " conducive to these ideological goals. How these ideological goals came to be set about and their specific utility for the ruling elite is beyond the scope of this essay. However what we shall point out here are the major casualties of this process in the form of major themes and ideas of both general and specific relevance for our country and our times that have been jettisoned and omitted from the textbooks. This has been done since these themes and ideas did not fit the ideological straitjacket in which the young Pakistani mind was sought to be confined. The net effect of this process has been to create a deep rooted alienation where several generations having undergone this training are unable to contribute to formulating a creative national and social identity, and unable to develop a sense of commitment that goes beyond religious jingoism, militarism and narrow minded nationalism.

History

Several authors have identified how the writing of history in Pakistan has been systematically distorted to foster an artificial identity and ideology. The entire focus of this effort is directed towards proving the historical differences, enmities and differences between Muslims and Hindus and the righteousness of the Muslims as opposed to the cunning, deceit and cruelty of Hindus. A further objective is to establish in the child's mind that there has never been any period of amity or intermingling between the peoples of these religions since that is to be made the basis for justifying the demand for Pakistan. To establish this identity history was rewritten to omit entire epochs of our past. For instance the textbooks written till 1961 contained detailed accounts of the ancient Hindu mythology and the Hindu and Buddhist dynasties that ruled the area which is now Pakistan. However, later textbooks entirely omit these ancient periods (e.g. Mauriya dynasty, Ashoka, etc.) while some make a brief reference to the Buddhist period (See e.g. Social Studies, Class-VI). This omission of a very important period of the history of this land besides being intellectually dishonest has had the effect, probably deliberate, of inculcating in children a sense of alienation from their Hindu neighbors in India as if we have never been part of a common history or shared historical experience.

After some brief descriptions of ancient societies (Moen Jo Daro and Harrappa , pre-Hindu) history makes an abrupt jump to the advent of Muslims (Mohammed Bin Qasim). In an attempt to present Muslims as always acting for noble purposes and not motivated by desires of conquest and domination, the Arab's conflict with the rulers of Sindh is presented as a response to the attack on a pilgrim ship. This selective portrayal hides the many previous attacks by the Arabs on the Makran-Baluchistan area which were repulsed by the local rulers. There is no attempt to link these conflicts with the actual political and economic motivations e.g. the control of trade routes, expansion of empires etc. that were prevalent in that period. By omitting a critical and honest discussion of these factors and by glorifying and romanticizing these conquests the student is deprived of learning about the forces and dynamics that shape history, in particular those that have shaped the destiny of our own land. Somewhat similar comments can be made with regard to the advent of later Muslim rulers such as Mahmud Ghaznavi, Mohammad Ghauri and later on the Mughals and finally Ahmad Shah Abdali. Rather than discuss objectively the motivations behind the invasions and the reasons why the invading powers were in general able to subdue local resistance, all these events are covered under the panoply of Islam versus Hinduism. The triumph of every adventurer becomes the triumph and glory of Islam.

The British Period: The Colonial Experience and the Independence Movement

Moving on to a later period, the advent of the British and their very systematic and rapid control and plunder of India, the textbooks are woefully free of anything which can help understand the phenomenon of colonialism. The books contain no reference to the Renaissance and the consequent development of learning and the technology in the West; the rapid growth of industry and its push for cheap raw material and captive markets etc. They never identify that it was an advanced understanding, modern technology and more systematic human organization that enabled the domination of tens of millions of Indians by a few thousand Englishmen. The books thus fail to drive home a crucial lesson that independence and affluence in the modern era are based on the power of knowledge and command over technology. The student could be exposed to the vision of an alternate history e.g. by asking as to what could have been the history of this part of the world if the early Mughal emperors had not disdainfully rejected the offer of Western traders to introduce their newly invented technologies, for example, the printing press which was rejected by

Akbar by taking refuge in the excuse that it would render Katibs (scribes) jobless. The books furthermore are silent on the outmoded and bankrupt economic and social order of the Mughal Raj, the Nawabs and Rajas that existed at the time and why that left no incentive for the population to spontaneously defy the rise of the British. Once again we observe a description of history divorced from the local economic and social determinants.

Social Structure

While the treachery of various local individuals is often pointed out, for example Mir Jaffar, Mir Sadiq and the Nizam of Hyderabad, what is not developed to any extent is the fact that there was at that time no notion of any higher political unit such as the nation or the country to which people in general owed allegiance once the Mughal dynasty had become a spent force. The student is never exposed to the profound implications, communal differences aside, of the transformation of a traditional society with its local hierarchical structures into a nation state or states. The absence of this discussion renders it very difficult if not impossible for the average student to comprehend the various, often conflicting, trends of nationalism that emerged in the later part of the nineteenth century. The discourse is always in terms of us versus them, Muslims versus Hindus, as opposed to the more fundamental division that existed, viz., between Indian nationalism and British colonialism. Such a discourse of history can only perpetuate animosities between peoples without serving the main purpose ostensibly sought, namely to create a sense of Pakistani identity based on something more than a negation of the Hindu identity.

Exploitation

One of the major casualties of this method which relegates the anti-colonial experience to a secondary issue as compared to the communal question is that the Pakistani student never becomes acquainted with the meaning of his or her colonial past and its vestiges which continue to dominate life even today in the form of an elite class of civil and military bureaucracies, landlords and comprador capitalists. How the colonizing power created new elites from amongst those who had collaborated with it against their own people and how the Jagirs and lands were allotted is not discussed, since those vast Jagirs and their concomitant power and privileges are sacrosanct in the power setup even fifty seven years after the Partition. How colonialism affected the development of Indian society, for example by transferring abroad massive surplus, crippling and indeed physically eliminating local industry to create its own markets and how this led to massive poverty are all absent from our discourse. There is no emphasis on the economic exploitation and social disempowerment of the people by the colonizing power, probably since much of the pattern of disempowerment and exploitation remains in place even today, with the substitution of the locals for the foreigners.

Communalization

As briefly mentioned above, a noticeable point is the way the communal question comes to dominate the description of the struggle for independence in our books. It is astonishing to find that the whole emphasis of our books is to show that it was a struggle, on the part of the Muslims, against an impending “Hindu domination” rather than a struggle of a people (Hindus, Muslims & others) against a colonizing power. This theme starts with the projection of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan as a person who awakened Muslims to the needs of the modern times and laid the basis of Muslim nationalism and culminates in projecting the Quaid as a theocrat striving to enforce the Shariah. What is missing noticeably from this discussion is that there were many prominent Muslim nationalists such as Maulana Azad who were in the

vanguard of the freedom struggle and were strongly opposed to the idea of partition. The Muslims are presented as a monolithic block. What is absent are the echoes of the other Muslim voices in the evolution of Muslim political nationalism. Many Muslims, including leading theologians, were opposed to Partition while many others were uninterested in it. In the interest of historical accuracy it is important to show the students that neither the Muslims nor the Hindus formed a homogeneous block. There were multiple voices on both sides that should be included. However the internal differences and dissenting voices are absent from our texts making them very regimented and fractured[184]. At least at the relatively more mature level of the Intermediate, students can deal with the complexity of history and by all rights it ought to be there.

It is important to include these events and personalities objectively and to discuss the pros and cons of the respective arguments. This would enable the student to develop a sense that political and ideological differences are not necessarily borne out of the spite of one party but are often a natural outcome of differing social, economic and political backgrounds. This could contribute to strengthening a culture of tolerance and democracy within our society and possibly a lessening of enmity with our neighbors, the Indians.

Contemporary Issues

While our textbooks are replete with mention of the Quaid and his struggle to achieve Pakistan, it is equally noticeable by its omission that nowhere do the texts emphasize his highly liberal, democratic and tolerant worldview. His speech of 11th August 1947 to the Constituent Assembly in which he laid down the outlines of a democratic and secular Pakistan in which the state has no concern with the religion of its citizens and all irrespective of faith, are fully equal, finds no mention at any level. We also fail to mention the practical expression of this mindset in that the first Cabinet of the country that he founded had a Hindu as the Law Minister and an Ahmedi as the foreign minister. We do so presumably because it does not fit in with the fiction which we wish to perpetuate: that what he had conceived was an Islamic state and not simply a Muslim majority state. In the same vein all those non-Muslims who contributed to the educational, social and humanitarian development of what is now Pakistan are not to be found anywhere in our textbooks. While the educational institutions, hospitals and parks etc they founded still stand as reminders of their spirit of human service they are persona non-grata as far the textbooks go. The non-Muslims who served this country after 1947 fare no better. Whether it be a great scientist such as Prof. Abdus Salam or an eminent Jurist such as A. R. Cornelius or a military hero such as Cecil Chowdhry or many others who made important contributions to towards this country, they find no honorable mention anywhere. These omissions strengthen the contempt and biases against non-Muslims, which the entire educational system sets out to achieve, in the name of developing an Islamic identity.

However it is not just the non-Muslim heroes and outstanding personalities who are conspicuous by their absence. Even more starkly evident is the fact that the contemporary heroes (heroines) of civil society, whether national or international, Muslim or non-Muslim, individuals or institutions, all are completely missing from our textbooks. There are no scientists, artists, social workers, journalists, statesmen mentioned. There is a silence as far as projecting the achievements of the civil society is concerned. The only contemporary heroes our children are told about are military heroes. While one does not intend to belittle the sacrifices of those who died fighting for this country, it is equally if not more important to project and describe those who lived to make this a better country. The exclusion of heroes

184 e.g. Intermediate Classes - Civics of Pakistan, Page 19 Author: Mazhar-ul-Haq. Fourth Impression, 2000. Bookland

from civil society creates the impression that there were no civilians worthy of mention or worthy of being presented as role models or inspirational figures for children. It further strengthens the military's claim to be the savior of the nation and its superiority to the members of the civil society. There are probably several reasons for the exclusion of contemporary figures one of them being the general unwillingness to present any event or person except in terms of "total good" or "total evil". Any public figure who is controversial in any sense is thus to be excluded. Most major figures of our times obviously fall short of such unrealistic standards often for reasons unrelated to their contributions but vested in their religious or political beliefs or personal idiosyncrasies.

It is very significant that our textbooks maintain a very strict separation between economics and politics and suppress any development of a social critique. This is as correct both with respect to the local power distribution as it is with respect to the international financial institutions. e.g. texts on Civics[185] devote a chapter to the natural resources of the country. However there is absolutely no discussion of the implications of the distribution of economic resources in society, the effects of unequal access to opportunities and resources on the lives of individuals, groups and provinces. Nor is there any discussion of the state's responsibility to ensure a fair distribution of resources between the provinces, classes and genders etc.

In the same context, i.e. the responsibilities of a state to provide for its citizens, while the section on income and expenditure mentions taxation books mention taxation (Pages 97 to 99) there is no discussion of why people pay taxes, what they should receive in return and whether the state meets its obligations.. Nor do the texts discuss whether the money being spend correctly by the government or whether its priorities are the correct ones. This would not only include citizen rights but also the state's duties to its citizens; how is public money taken and spent; who pays and who uses it, etc.

Conclusion

We have outlined above some of the main themes that we believe have been selectively and systematically omitted from our textbooks, mostly for narrow sighted ideological reasons and not for academic or pedagogical reasons. We have also attempted at places to identify the specific outcome of such omissions in terms of the mindset and worldview that they generate by the failure to expose student to a humanizing and liberalizing intellectual atmosphere. We believe that the growth of intolerance, fundamentalism and extremism while having many other fundamental sources is however strengthened by such curricula and textbooks, operative in the very large public school system.

There is one final aspect to which we draw attention in the context of omissions: this relates to formation of a personality that respects differences and allows debates. By presenting human reality, whether historical, political or social, as having one unique interpretation to be found in one particular paragraph of one particular textbook our books make a mockery of the whole notion of learning as understood in our times. The system as a whole has this fundamental weakness in that critical thinking analysis and difference of opinions is not allowed to be developed as a natural activity in learning. This is in itself the most fundamental conceptual omission inherent in the entire system and needs to be addressed in a mature manner so as to produce a generation for which learning comes to be recognized as a means of acquiring the tools of understanding and not merely as a process of accumulating information.

185 e.g. Intermediate Classes - Civics of Pakistan, Author: Mazhar-ul-Haq. Fourth Impression, 2000. Bookland

Chapter 5

Glorification of War and the Military

A. H. Nayyar and Ahmed Salim

Peace is the biggest and the most urgent need for Pakistan. The nation has paid enormously in terms of cost to its material as well as human development because of a continued absence of peace, both internally as well as with respect to external actors. But peace, like war, resides in minds. Whether in a given society forces of war prevail or that of peace depends upon who has captured the minds of the population. And in this game of capturing of minds, the most impressionable minds are the most vulnerable. Besides the media, educational material provides the most effective tool of fashioning attitudes towards war and peace.

Governments everywhere use education to further the process of nation-building. Through the teaching of history, language and social sciences, children are given what the state believes should be part of their shared identity and perspective for understanding the world. However, from the very beginning, the educational system in Pakistan has been aimed at re-enforcing one particular view of Pakistani nationalism and identity, namely that Pakistan is an Islamic state rather than a country with a majority Muslim population. This came about partly due to the insecurity that the newborn nation was facing, and partly because of the emphasis on two-nation theory as the basis for Pakistani identity. The first evolved into the overburdening state security paradigm that sanctified the armed forces and pauperized the nation, and the second grew into the near theocratic nature of the state.

Over the years, it became apparent that it was in the interest of both the military and the would-be theocrats to promote militarism in the society. This confluence of interests now gets reflected in the educational material. The curriculum directives ask for, and textbooks include:

- Material creating hate and making enemy images
- A glorification of war and the use of force
- Incitement to militancy and violence, including encouragement of *Jehad* and *Shahadat*
- Insensitivity to the actually existing religious diversity of the nation, and reinforcing perspectives that encourage prejudice and discrimination towards religious minorities.

It is clear that in the presence of such material, peace and tolerance cannot be promoted. The minds that have been taught to hate do not have always to hate the enemy they have

been told to hate; they can create 'the other' from amongst themselves and exercise violence against anyone, even against their own countrymen. Violence comes naturally to those to whom the military and the use of force have been glorified.

The textbook-government nexus that K. K. Aziz identified in relation to historical inaccuracies, biased statements and hate speeches[186] also reflects the glorification of the military and war. For 30 years of its 55-year history, Pakistan has had governments which were run by the military or put into office and sustained by the military. It is not a matter of surprise, therefore that the government–textbook connection has developed into a military-textbook bond.

As mentioned earlier in this report, our history is distorted to create an 'enemy' image in our curriculum document and text books. These documents and books glorify wars and military heroism. It is interesting to note that this started in the 1970s when the civilian and democratically elected regime of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto introduced a full two-year course on '<u>Fundamentals of War</u>' and '<u>Defence of Pakistan</u>' for class XI and XII respectively.[187] In the '<u>Fundamentals of War</u>' themes like objects and causes, conduct, nature, modern weapons, operations, principles ethics, the means short of war and modern Warfare were thoroughly discussed. The second volume Defence of Pakistan dealt with Pakistan's defence problems, economy and defence , foreign policy, military heritage, defence forces, role of armed forces during peace and qualities of military leadership etc.

This exercise developed into a full fledged Military Science Group in the intermediate classes which comprises the following subjects, each worth 600 narks:[188]

			Marks
(a) War	…	…	100
(b) Military History	…	…	100
(c) Economic of War	…	…	100
(d) Military Geography	…	…	100
(e) Defence of Pakistan	…	…	100
(f) Special Military Studies	…	…	100
	Total:-		600

The aims of the subjects were cited as:

a. War: To Create in the students and elementary understanding of the various factors governing War and its Conduct.
b. Military History: To give a board survey of the factors determining the rise of World powers from time to time.
c. Economics of War: To give and understanding of the elementary principles involved in the analysis of war-time economic phenomena with particular reference to the economy of Pakistan.
d. Military Geography: To study the bearing of geographical factors on War with particular reference to the defence of Pakistan.
e. Defence of Pakistan

186 K. K. Aziz, The Murder of History in Pakistan, Lahore, 1993 pp. 190-191.
187 The Fundamentals of War, XI & XII classes; Defence of Pakistan, XI & XII classes, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1975.
188 A Hand Book of Curricula and Syllabi For the Intermediate Examination To be Held in 1996, Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education , Lahore, pp. 221-227

f. Special Military Study: Understanding of the application of the principles and factors involved in War through special study of some important campaigns and military leaders.

Returning to the glorification of war and the military in the normal school curricula and textbooks, the following excerpts from curriculum documents and textbooks show how the young minds are indoctrinated against peace in the educational process.

Paving the Way: Germinating hate

The objects of hate in Pakistani educational material are Hindus and India, reflecting both the perceived sense of insecurity from an 'enemy' country, and an attempt to define one's national identity in relation to the 'other'. The first serves the military and the second the political Islamists.

Curriculum documents state the following as the specific learning objectives:

> *[The child should be able to] understand the Hindu and Muslim differences and the resultant need for Pakistan*[189]
>
> *Hindu-Muslim Differences in Culture, .. India's evil designs against Pakistan (the three wars with India)*[190]
>
> *Identify the events in relation to Hindu-Muslim differences, which laid the foundations for Pakistan*[191]

The textbooks then respond in the following way to the above curriculum instructions

> *Hindu has always been an enemy of Islam.*[192]
>
> *The religion of the Hindus did not teach them good things -- Hindus did not respect women...*[193]
>
> *Hindus worship in temples which are very narrow and dark places, where they worship idols. Only one person can enter the temple at a time. In our mosques, on the other hand, all Muslims can say their prayers together.*[194]
>
> *Muslim children of India wear shalwar kameez or shirt and pajama and Hindu children wear Dhoti also.*[195]
>
> *The Hindu Lived in Small and dark houses.*[196]

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189 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Classes K-V, Integrated and Subject Based, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1995, p 151; National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35

190 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35

191 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35

192 Urdu Class Viii, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 108

193 Muasherati Ulum for Class IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1995, p 81

194 Muasherati Ulum for Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1996, p 109

195 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, p 79

196 Social Studies for Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, January 2002, p. 91.

The people of the sub-continent used to live in dark and small houses before the arrival of the Muslims. The places of worship were built in a way that light and air could not find a way into them. An idol of a god or goddess was put in a dark narrow room. The worshippers went inside the room one by one to worship it.[197]

The Hindus treated the ancient population of the Indus valley very badly. They forcibly occupied their land. They set fire to their houses and butchered them. Those who escaped were forced to become slaves. After defeating the ancient people of the sub-continent the Hindus started fighting among themselves. They got divided into castes. They would not intermarry with others or eat with them…The Hindus did not believe in one God but worshipped the numerous idols in their temples.[198]

Muslims and Hindus are completely different in their way of life, eating habits and dress. We worship in mosques. Our mosques are open, spacious, clean and well-lit. Hindus worship inside their temples. These temples are extremely narrow, enclosed and dark. Inside these the Hindus worship idols. Only one man at a time can enter these temples. On the other hand inside our mosques all the Muslims can pray to God together.[199]

The British took along the Hindus in their endeavour to conquer India. The Hindus very happily joined the British because they did not like Muslim rule. On the other hand the British very cleverly bribed some Muslims to join them against other Muslims…These conspiracies and intrigues enabled the British to establish their dominion over India.[200]

Hindus thought that there was no country other than India, nor any people other than the Indians, nor did anyone else possess any knowledge[201]*.*

Hindu pundits were jealous of Al Beruni. Since they could not compete against Al Beruni in knowledge, they started calling him a magician.[202]

[A story "The Enemy Pilot", about a captured Indian pilot, presumably a Hindu] He had only been taught never to have pity on Muslims, to always bother the neighbouring Muslims, to weaken them to the extent that they forget about freedom, and that it is better to finish off the enemy. He remembered that the Hindus tried to please their Devi Kali by slaughtering innocent people of other faiths at her feet; that they regarded everybody else as untouchables. He knew that his country India had attacked Pakistan in the dead of the night to bleed Pakistani Muslims and to dominate the entire Subcontinent.[203]

The Hindus colluded with the English and assured them of their loyalty. In return for this, the English opened the gates of their services to Hindus and gave them commercial and political concessions. As a result, the Hindus began to progress

197 Ibid. p. 116.
198 Social Studies for class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1987, pp.1-2.
199 Social Studies for class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 1988, p. 90.
200 Ibid. p. 89.
201 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 82
202 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 82
203 Urdu Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 221

in every sphere of life while the Muslim national life lost all its vigour and vitality and they were engulfed by fear and despair.[204]

The Hindus who have always been opportunists cooperated with the English.[205]

The Hindus praised the British rule and its blessings in their speeches.
The Hindus had the upper hand in the Congress and they established good relations with the British. This party tried its best to safeguard the interests of the Hindus. Gradually it became purely a Hindu organization. Most of the Hindu leaders of the Congress were not prepared to tolerate the presence of the Muslims in the sub-continent. They demanded that the Muslims should either embrace Hinduism or leave the country.

The party was so close to the Government that it would not let the Government do any work as would be of benefit to the Muslims. The partition of Bengal can be quoted as an example.[206]

…but Hindus very cunningly succeeded in making the British believe that the Muslims were solely responsible for the [1857] rebellion.[207]

In order to appease the Hindus and the Congress, the British announced political reforms. Muslims were not eligible to vote. Hindus voter never voted for a Muslim, therefore, …[208]

The height of Hindu-Muslim amity was seen during the Khilafat Movement, but as soon as the movement was over, the anti-Muslim feelings among Hindus resurfaced.[209]

Nehru report exposed the Hindu mentality.[210]

The Quaid saw through the machinations of the Hindus.[211]

Hindus declared the Congress rule as the Hindu rule, and started to unleash terror on Muslims.[212]

At the behest of the government [during the Congress rule], Hindu "goondas" started killing Muslims and burning their property.[213]

In addition to Urdu Hindi controversy, Hindus started so may other anti-Muslim movements. The hue and cry made by Arya Samaj in South India in 1877 was a clear indication of Hindu mentality. Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan became sure that

204 Pakistan Studies, for class IX-X, Balochistan Textbook Board, Quetta, 2002, p. 19.
205 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 141
206 Social Studies Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002: p 143
207 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 90
208 Social Studies Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 94-95
209 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 100
210 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 102
211 Social Studies Class-VII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, ?, p 51
212 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 104
213 Social Studies, Class VIII – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2002, p 104-105

Hindus wanted to destroy the valuable cultural heritage of the Muslims so that they should lose their separate identity.[214]

The Hindus started a campaign of replacing Urdu with Hindi in 1867.

Syed felt a lot of pain at this. The Hindus wished to ruin Muslim civilization and culture by destroying Urdu. This enmity of the Hindus convinced Sir Syed that in order to live an honourable life, the Muslims should claim that they were a separate nation. He thought that it was necessary for the Muslims to receive western education to complete with the Hindus.[215]

The enmity of the Hindus compelled Syed to declare that the Muslims were a separate nation.[216]

The enmity shown by Hindus and the Congress after the partition of Bengal made Muslim leaders to think to form a political party. They wanted to raise a voice for the safeguard of the interests of the Muslims and convey their feelings to the British Government.[217]

After this, the Hindus began to oppose the Muslims openly. They started 'Shudhi Movement' which aimed at converting the Muslims to Hinduism. They also started 'Sanghtan' movement which aimed at giving military training to the Hindus and preparing them to use force against the Muslims in time of need.[218]

The Congress published in 1928 a report for the future programme of the sub-continent. It is called the 'Nehru Report'. This report clearly exposed the mind of Hindus that they aimed at established Hindu rule in the sub-continent.[219]

The Hindus always desired to crush the Muslims as a nation. Several attempts were made by the Hindus to erase the Muslim culture and civilisation. Hindi-Urdu controversy, shudhi and sanghtan movements are the most glaring examples of the ignoble Hindu mentality.[220]

The Muslim population of the Muslim minority provinces faced atrocities of the Hindu majority.

[The Muslims] were not allowed to profess their religion freely.

Hindu nationalism was being imposed upon Muslims and their culture.

All India Congress turned into a pure Hindu organisation

While the Muslims provided all type of help to those wishing to leave Pakistan, the people of India committed cruelties against the Muslims (refugees). They

214 Pakistan Studies for class IX-X, Balochistan Textbook Board, Quetta, 2002, p. 23
215 Social Studies for Class VI, Punjab Textbook board, Lahore, January 2002, p. 142
216 Ibid.
217 Ibid. p.144
218 Ibid. p. 146
219 Ibid.
220 M. Ikram Rabbani and Monawar Ali Sayyid, *An Introduction to Pakistan studies*, The Caravan Book House, Lahore, 1995, p 12

would attack the buses, trucks, and trains carrying the Muslim refugees and they were murdered and looted.[221]

The Hindus gave 'Band-i-Matram' the status of their national song. The Governments of these provinces sent orders that all the schools under their control should start their daily work by singing this song. The words of the song ignored the feelings of the Muslims. The Muslim students were forced to sing it. Then, they started opposition of Urdu which had the status of official language in certain provinces. Soon it was replaced by Hindi.[222]

The Congress ministries began to persecute the Muslims just after coming into power and did their worst to destroy the Muslim Cultural heritage. Efforts were set afoot to make Hindi the official language and to exterminate Urdu. Bande Matram was enforced as national anthem. Hindus were given a preferential treatment in maters commercial and educational and the rights of Muslims were usurped.[223]

The Congress atrocities had created unrest among the Muslims and they were constrained to think that if they did not take a positive step against Hindu Raj their future would be darkened. Accordingly they sank their differences and began to mobilize under the Muslim League banner.[224]

The Hindus reacted to it immediately. The Hindu press and leaders did their worst to oppose it. The Hindus pressurized the English rulers neither to accept the demand for Pakistan, nor to partition the subcontinent in any circumstances.[225]

They (the refugees) came to Pakistan, leaving their homes, shops, agricultural, goods and beloved beasts in India. On their way to Pakistan, a large number of immigrants were killed by the Sikhs and the Hindus. They suffered a lot during their journey to Pakistan and in spite of that they were happy that they have got a separate country for them where their future generations will lead a prosperous life. At that time the Sikhs and the Hindus as well left Pakistan for India.[226]

After the Cripps Missions, Congress raised the "Quit India" slogan, which meant the British should leave, handing over the rule to Hindus.[227]

After 1965 war India conspired with the Hindus of Bengal and succeeded in spreading hate among the Bengalis about West Pakistan and finally attacked on East Pakistan in December 71, thus causing the breakup of East and West Pakistan.[228]

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221 National Early Childhood Education Curriculum (NECEC), Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, March 2002, p 85
222 Social Studies for class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, 2002, p. 153
223 Pakistan Studies for class IX-X, Balochistan Textbook Board, Quetta, 2002, p. 32
224 Ibid
225 Social Studies for class VIII, Balochistan Textbook Board, Quetta, p. 88
226 Social Studies for class IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, p. 83
227 Social Studies, Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002, p 110
228 Social Studies (in Urdu) Class- V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, p 112

Glorification of War and the Military

The military has ruled Pakistan for over 30 years during the 57 years of the country's existence. A natural outcome of it has been creation of the military as a prime interest group having a huge stake in the society. It controls institutions that are the largest industrial and finance houses as well as the largest land-holders. Military personnel, both retired and serving, are ubiquitous in high state administrative positions, some of them very lucrative. No wonder then that a need arises to justify this enviable position. One obvious way is to sanctify the military by recounting heroic deeds of the military men. Among the various venues used for this purpose is the educational material. A very positive image of the military is created and its heroics are emphasized over those of any other section of the society. Examples of this will be given below, first from curriculum documents and then from textbooks.

Curriculum documents

The curriculum documents include specific instructions for syllabus making and textbook writing that ask for material that glorifies war, militancy and the military. Some examples of this are quoted below.

- A feeling be created among students they are the members of a Muslim nation. Therefore, in accordance with the Islamic tradition, they have to truthful, honest, patriotic and life-sacrificing *mujahids*.[229]
- Suggestions topics for lessons in textbooks
  (m) Stories about the Pakistan movement, eminent personalities of Pakistan, and martyrs of Pakistan
  (o) Simple stories to incite for *jehad* [230]

a. Objectives, contents and activities
   Activity 4: To make speeches on *jehad* and *shahadat*[231]
   Important personalities: contents: Muhammad bin Qasim, Mahmood Ghaznavi,[232]

- Contents: Muazz Moavvaz (Razi Allah Unhum)
  Learning Outcomes: Describe in few words the heroic contribution of Muaz and Muavvaz (Razi Allah Unhum)[233]
- Concept: Jeihad[234]
  Contents: Importance of Jehad
- Concept: Jehad
  Activities: To make speeches on Jehad
  Learning outcome: Evaluate the role of India with reference to wars of 1948, 1965 and 1971 A.D.
  Evaluation: To judge their spirits while making speeches on Jehad, Muslim History and Culture[235]
- Concept: Jehad

229 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, Urdu curriculum, Class IV-V, p. 41
230 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, Urdu curriculum, Class IV-V, p.56
231 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, Urdu curriculum, Class IV-V, p 154
232 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, Urdu curriculum, Class IV-V, p 164
233 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p. 19
234 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p. 34
235 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p. 35

Contents: Muhammad bin Qasim, Mahmood Ghaznavi[236]

- National Objective
  The sense be created among students that they are members of the Islamic Millat. Therefore in accordance with the Islamic tradition, they ought to develop into true, honest patriot, servant of the people and Janbaz Mujahid (life giving mujahid).[237]
- Suggested subjects and topics for Class IV
  History of Islam: four lessons
  Heroes (The lion of Mesoor, Tipu Sultan)[238]
- Suggested subjects and topics for Class V
  History of Islam: four lessons
  Heroes (The true dream, Nuruddin Zangi)
  Famous women (The brave woman, Khaula binte Azur)
  Stories: eight lessons: Folk tales (mythical, moral, Islamic, travel and adventure, jehad)[239]
- Concept: Jehad
  Affective objective: Aspiration for Jehad[240]
- Affective objective: jehad, shahadat[241]
- Titles for Textbooks
  Personalities of Islam: Hazrat Sa'ad bin Abi Waqas (the story of his bravery in the war of Qadessiyah) Hazrat Salman Farsi
  Unforgettable events: The holy war at Badr
  Famous personalities: For example, King Faisal, Jamaluddin Afghani, Sultan Salahuddin Ayyubi[242]
- Personalities of Islam: Hazrat Khalid bin Waleed (the contrast in the number of soldiers on the sides of Muslims and the infidels in the war of Moutah, exemplary commander, spirit of jehad, best example of discipline)[243]
- Unforgettable events: The holy war of Uhud[244]
- Detailed suggestions for textbooks: Class 6, second language
  National martyrs[245]
  Must be aware of the blessings of Jehad[246]

236 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p. 47

237 Urdu Curriculum (First language) for Classes IV and V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002, p. 3

238 Urdu Curriculum (First language) for Classes IV and V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002, p. 18

239 Urdu Curriculum (First language) for Classes IV and V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002, p. 21

240 Social Studies Curriculum for Classes VI – VIII, National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, 1984, p.16

241 Social Studies Curriculum for Classes VI – VIII, National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, 1984, p.21

242 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p.18-19

243 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p.21

244 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p.21

245 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p.38

246 Urdu Curriculum (Compulsory, optional and Easy course), Classes IX and X, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1988, p.89

Textbooks

In response to such instructions, the textbooks contain (1) all the military heroes, (2) narrations of the specific battles in which the heroes had fought, (3) narrations of the glorious victories and victors from Islamic history, and (4) poems urging for jehad. A few chapter titles from textbooks are given below as sample.

- Teesri Darsi Kitab, for Islamabad and Federal Areas, Ministry of Education, Curriclum Wing, Islamabad
  Bahadur Sipahi: About Lance Naik Mohammad Mahfooz, Nishan-e-Haider
- Urdu for Class IV, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002.
  Kamsin Shaheed: About Rashid Minhas, Nishan-e-Haider
- Urdu for Class V, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002.
  Mera Watan: a nationalistic poem: Mere fauji jawan, jur'aton ke nisan; mera ik ik sipahi hai Khaiber shikan
  Agla Morcha: About Sawar Mohammad Hussain, Nishan-e-Haider
  Ghuzva-e-Badr:
- Urdu for Class VI, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002.
  Do kamsin mujahid, a story from Ghuzwa-e-Badr
  Major Tufail Mohammad Shaheed, Nishan-e-Haider
  Uth Mujahid-e-Watan, a poem
  Hazrat Sa'ad bin Abi Waqas, a commander in the early Islamic history, the conqueror of Persia
- Urdu for Class VII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002.
  Hazrat Khalid bin Waleed, a commander in the early Islamic history
  Ghuzwa-e-Uhd
  Raja Mohammad Sarwar, Nishan-e-Haider
  Azm-o-shujaat ka Paiker; about Lance Naik Lal Hussain
  Isar: a story about a war in the early Islamic history
- Urdu for Class VIII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002.
  Nishan-e-Haider: about all the recipients of Nishan-e-Haider
  Shahid-e-Karbala
  Dushman Hawabaz

Some specific observations of the material in textbooks is also given below.

Social Studies Class I – Pakistan Textbook Depot. Author: Mohd. Tariq Malik. Pak Publishers, Urdu Bazaar, Lahore

> The cover is full of militaristic images showing a missile, Chaghi hills, and soldiers being trained

Social Studies Class IV, Pakistan Textbook Depot, Lahore. Author: Mohd. Tariq Malik. Pak Publishers, Urdu Bazaar Lahore

> Page 81 – pictures of battle and fighting seem to glorify war
> Page 84 – picture of war and militarization
> Page 85 – defence expenditure justified by invoking enemy
> Page 87 – war glorified; militarism encouraged by saying we should always be ready to fight;
> Page 107 – picture of a battle
> Pages 112 to 113 – India and Hindus as all bad and started all wars, war pictures, idea of how bravely Muslims defeated them, war glorified

Social Studies Class VII, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. January 2002
Page 22 – war and expansionism are promoted; 'widen your range of conquest';
Page 28 - Conquest and war are glorified

Civics Class IX and X – Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore. March 2001
Page 114 – the military's role in East Pakistan glorified

Civics of Pakistan, Intermediate Classes – Author: Mazhar-ul-Haq. Fourth Impression, 2000. Bookland
Page 218 – the defence of the country is described as the primary duty of the citizen;
Page 240 to 241 – some lines here justify advanced weaponry and defence spending;
Page 257 – the Makkah Declaration of 1981 is discussed and Jehad is pledged as a first principle;
Page 234 – 'national security' is defined as a paramount objective and anti-India rhetoric is used.

Urging the Students to Take the Path of *Jehad* and *Shahadat*

The themes of *Jehad* and *Shahadat* clearly distinguish the pre- and post-1979 educational contents. There was no mention of these in the pre-Islamization period curricula and textbooks, and the post-1979 curricula and textbooks openly eulogize *Jehad* and *Shahadat* and urge students to become *mujahids* and martyrs. Take the following examples.

> Learning Outcome: Recognize the importance of *Jehad* in every sphere of life[247]
>
> Learning outcome: Must be aware of the blessings of *Jehad*[248]
>
> Must be aware of the blessings of *Jehad*, and must create yearning for *Jehad* in his heart.[249]
>
> Concept: *Jehad*; Affective objective: Aspiration for *Jehad*[250]
>
> Love and aspiration for *Jehad*, *Tableegh* (Prosyletization), *Jehad*, *Shahadat* (martyrdom), sacrifice, *ghazi* (the victor in holy wars), *shaheed* (martyr), …[251]
>
> Simple stories to urge for *Jehad*[252]
>
> Activity 4: To make speeches on *Jehad* and *Shahadat*[253]

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247 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 34
248 Urdu Curriculum (Compulsory, optional and Easy course), Classes IX and X, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1988, p 8
249 Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986, p 13
250 Social Studies Curriculum for Classes VI – VIII National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, Year 1984, p 16
251 Social Studies Curriculum for Classes VI – VIII National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, Year 1984, p 21
252 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 56
253 Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, 1995, p 154

To make speeches on *Jehad*[254]

Evaluation: To judge their spirits while making speeches on *Jehad*, Muslim History and Culture[255]

Concepts: *Jehad*, *Amar bil Maroof* and *Nahi Anil Munkar*[256]

Importance of *Jehad*[257]

Affective objective: Concepts of Ideology of Pakistan, Muslim *Ummah* and *Jehad*[258]

Stories: eight lessons; Folk tales (mythical, moral, Islamic, travel and adventure, *Jehad*)[259]

254 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 33
255 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35
256 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 34
257 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 34
258 National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002, p 35
259 Urdu Curriculum (First language) for Classes IV and V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002, p 18

CHAPTER 6

Class & Gender in School Texts

Aamna Mattu and Neelam Hussain

The state rhetoric regarding women's rights and the need to provide equal educational and job opportunities not withstanding, state-sponsored textbooks continue to reinforce gender-biased stereotypes. As the mainstreaming of women in the social, economic and political life of the country as well as a meaningful recognition of their rights as equal citizens depend predominantly on the ways in which society as a whole perceives and defines women, not only does this constitute a serious lapse insofar as the implementation of state policy is concerned, it also raises a number of questions regarding the production of these texts.
Among the most evident responses that come to mind after a reading of the Punjab Textbook Board texts are:

1. that those engaged in the production of textbooks feel that public statements regarding women's rights etc. *are* only rhetorical and need not be taken seriously
2. that patriarchal precepts of femininity and masculinity are so deeply rooted in our ways of seeing and experiencing the world that it is difficult – even if there is a political will to do so– for academics and policy makers engaged in this exercise, to view their own attitudes critically or to envisage, a social order that recognises the humanity of women and men alike.
3. that no clear guidelines are provided regarding the content and thrust of school texts insofar as the representation of women is concerned.
4. that when guidelines are provided but those engaged in the production of these texts fail to see the connection between the negative and-/or stereotypical representation of a class or group and the impact of these representations on the perceptions and attitudes of students, whether male or female.
5. that the producers of these texts are content with the reproduction of male/female stereotypes because that is what they have been doing for years and it is the easier option in terms of work load etc.
6. that the producers are actively resistant to the idea of women's rights and believe in the preservation of the status quo.

If the issue of the prevalent gender biases in our school texts is to be seriously addressed and ways and means of countering those biases are to be worked out, it is necessary respond to at least some of these issues. In order to do so, this chapter will look at the following: (i) Education Policies and (ii) Content analysis. In the case of education policies we shall briefly examine the main aims and objectives of past education policies with special

reference to the clauses, regarding the representation of women in school texts. In respect of contents of school texts, we shall attempt a semiotic analysis of the language and images used in the representation of men and women in English language Punjab Textbook Board texts for classes 7 to 10. This chapter will also highlight the links between women's disempowerment and their subordinate status as citizens, and existing stereotypes that operate within the false division of space into the domestic, which is associated with women, and the public, which is thought to belong solely to men.

National Education Policies from 1959 Onwards and the Status Quo – A Brief Overview

Although the need to address the issue of education was recognised as early as 1947, when the first educational conference was held in the November of that year, and many years later, the Ministry of Education attempted a comprehensive survey of the subject in conjunction with the preparation of the Six Year Educational Development Plan (1952-58), there was no comprehensive approach to education, until the Commission on National Education was convened in 1959 to define the philosophy of education in Pakistan.

Although certain shifts – primarily ideological – have taken place since then, the essential structure, as defined in the Report of the Commission on National Education (1959) remains the same. This in itself is significant, for not only were the foundations of the education system laid during the first long-term non-representative government in the country, but also that no serious attempt has been made since then to rethink or reformulate this policy in the light of Pakistan's changing ground realities. This says much not only about the state of education in the country and the value systems that policy makers subscribe to but also goes some way towards explaining the continuing existence of the gender bias that is to be found in our school texts.

It is significant that the Report of 1959 reinforced the existing class divisions of Pakistani society thus ensuring that individuals from different socio-economic backgrounds could be trained for roles commensurate with their class position. Not surprisingly, women fell foul of this policy, as did the poor and those belonging to the working class.

Obviously geared to preserve the status quo the 1959 Report follows a particularly skewed and reductive logic: because those in positions of power viz. policy makers, members of the ruling class, educationists, etc., are predominantly upper class and male, only upper class males should be allowed to lay claims (a) to a superior intellect and (b) to the positions they hold. All those who fall outside the existing class, caste and gender boundaries that ensure their privileges, do so not because of lack of opportunity or poverty or a host of other social and economic problems, but because they lack the capacity to be anything other than poor, working class – or female.

What is especially significant is the relegation of girls and women and members of the working class to similar categories on the basis of a grossly biased estimate of the competence. Commenting on the 1959 Report Rubina Saigol writes[260]: according to this Report, members of the working class are, 'expected to perform manual, concrete and mechanical and lower order tasks which do not require much thinking or conceptualisation, but are based on repetitive actions, rote memorisation and constant drill or practice. This kind of task division assumes that some people are *naturally* more talented, intelligent,

260 Rubina Saigol; *Knowledge and Identity*. (ASR Publications. 1995)

capable of abstract and conceptual thinking and creative, while others are *naturally* more prone to mechanical rule following required by lower level repetitive tasks.

The Report is no less compromising when it comes to female education. Clear-cut gender roles are emphasised consistently regarding the skills befitting women. These ‘feminine’ skills, which will ensure domestic bliss – obviously women have no right to bliss of any other kind – are needle work, home crafts, embroidery and ‘other suitable work of an artistic kind’. It is quite obvious that the women referred to here are from the economically privileged class as working class women who make up the bulk of the female labour force are too busy working in agriculture, on construction sites and as domestic labour to have either the time, the money or the energy left over from long working hours to indulge in ‘artistic’ work or even ‘home crafts and embroidery’.

During the ‘60s Home Economics Colleges were set up in the major cities of Pakistan and gained immense popularity among the parents of girls. The appeal of this subject lay in the fact that it allowed traditionalists to concede to the demands of modernity *vis a vis* the importance of school or college education for girls while enabling them to remain within the bounds of patriarchal norms of femininity. As stated in the Report, this subject ‘… provides a young woman with the knowledge and skills and attitudes that will help her to be a more intelligent and effective wife and mother and improve the health, happiness and general well-being of her family[261].

As can be seen, motherhood continues to be understood as the central and all encompassing role of a woman’s life. Mothers are granted the ‘esteemed’ status of nation builders with the ability to mould their children into loyal and productive citizens. Glorified and exalted, motherhood is presented as the only, ultimate and legitimate goal that a woman can aspire to.

Women who failed to – or refused to subscribe to this myth, fell outside the purview of the feminine or at best were relegated to the margins of licit space. Among them could be unmarried women, working women the divorcees and those who had no children. That dissent was looked upon unfavourably is borne out by the Report, which states unequivocally that ‘it is she who must accept the obligations that her position at home imposes upon her’.[262]

These examples are sufficient to show that as far as government policy went, women were meant to stay within traditionally allocated roles and the only kinds of knowledge and skills to which they could lay legitimate claim were those that would aid them in their roles as mothers and good, obedient wives. That this image had little to do with the ground reality in Pakistan where more and more women were entering hitherto male professions did nothing to influence the policy makers and the subsequently produced school texts relied solely on patriarchal myths of the feminine and had little to do with the diversity of women’s lives as they came into play in a society divided on the basis of class, caste, gender and ethnic differences.

As stated earlier, the 1959 Report of the Commission on National Education was geared to the maintenance of the status quo, and this is exactly what it did. This is not surprising, after all one of the recurrent themes of the Ayub era was that Pakistanis were inherently unfit for democracy. If the playing field had to be left clear for the ruling elite, then housebound women and the vast majority precluded from decision-making on the basis of their own

261 Report of the Commission on National Education. 1959
262 Ibid. p. 191

inabilities, was a non sequitur. In this context, convergence of patriarchal authoritarianism with that of military rule could only serve the interests of the group in power.

Despite the fact that Nusrat Bhutto attended the 1975 UN Womens' Conference in Mexico where the world plan of action regarding women's position and status in society was announced and great emphasis placed on women's rights, a democratic government under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto did not bring about any radical change with regard to women's representation in school texts. As far as women's education and the ways in which gender stereotyping in school texts was concerned, policy documents of the '70s, granted the same importance as the 1959 Report, had done to the learning of 'feminine' skills and the enhancement of 'natural' female qualities such as obedience and steadfastness. Equal importance was also given to the role of women as 'perfect' wives and mothers. Whether this was the result of a conscious policy decision or merely an unconsidered response of probably the same bureaucrats and 'educationists' who had formulated the 1959 report, the outcome was the same in so far as the presence of gendered stereotypes in school texts was concerned.

The return to martial law in 1977 and the subsequent alliance between the army and an ascendant fundamentalist group brought about significant and regressive changes within the socio-symbolic frame of reference. In its bid to consolidate its own power this new ruling class, as opposed to the earlier euro-centric elite, set out to capture the existing socio-economic discourses and rewrite them in accordance with its own needs. Educational institutions, school texts and the media were powerful and effective means for bringing this about.

Women were transformed into markers of "national" morality and notions of the licit and illicit were charted out across their bodies. As a result not only were earlier stereotypes reinforced, the entire process was orchestrated at every level ranging from the promulgation of sexist and gender biased laws to public exhortations to women to dress modestly and wear the 'chadar'.

While continuing to subscribe to the overall guidelines that different texts should aim to produce patriotic Muslims, school texts produced in the Zia era underwent a visible change.

Following the pattern established by the 1959 Report and responding to policy directives emphasising the need to develop in students a sense of patriotism and an awareness of being Muslim and part of the Ummah, the different Textbook Boards, never famous for producing books that were capable of engaging students' interest, now plunged to an all time low of pedantic pedagogy that has been and continues to be responsible not only for strengthening existing gender biases but also for the marginalisation of non-Muslim minorities, the heightening of intolerance and the destruction of intellectual curiosity in the students.

That the policy makers in the Ministry of Education as well as those engaged in the production of school texts have much to answer for is borne out by the evidence of the texts to which our unsuspecting children are subjected during their formative years. At a time when education should enable them to discover and take joy in their own God-given potential and the rich diversity of human cultures, they are being cast into the straightjacket of narrow stereotypes based on rigidly defined gender roles.

Textbooks

Before examining current school texts, this section will include a brief look at the social science texts of the Zia years to show that little has changed since then insofar as the content of school books especially with reference to the perpetuation of gender biases, is concerned. Nasrene Shah's findings in this regard seem especially pertinent[263]:

> *'From the very first language books for five year olds, traditional stereotypes with regard to male/female role models are established, and they are reinforced and elaborated in subsequent readers. One of the first illustrations is that of a girl helping her mother with household chores … Never is the male shown helping in the house, whether it is in the urban or rural setting…. Yet it is interesting to note that in the description of the Holy Prophet, peace be upon him, that there was no task, howsoever humble, (sweeping, mending, washing up) that he regarded as being beneath his dignity. The policy makers apparently do not wish to make the connection between the example set by him and the need for men to share the mundane tasks that are the woman's lot. Similarly, the introductory social studies text tells us that the respect accorded to the mother is due to the fact that she cooks, cleans and cares for the family. Clearly, her role and place are delineated within the context of the family unit. That she contributes to the economy and nation building activities is not recognised.*
>
> *Except for the early readers, girls are never shown playing outdoor games. Sport it seems is outside the domain of young women…. [A]s a girl grows towards adolescence, she becomes increasingly unobtrusive and, except within clearly demarcated parameters, is neither seen nor heard.... Boys on the other hand are active, curious, ready to take the initiative in moments of crisis. Only a boy is allowed to dream of … the future .. The message is insidious and powerful – a woman's fulfilment and ultimate destiny, even if she is educated, must lie within the family – her future is not in her own hands.*
>
> *Not a single woman is included in the social studies series on popular personalities. In the Urdu books, space has been conceded to two women only. .. Miss Fatima Jinnah and Begum Mohammad Ali. (Their) claim to eminence, is their relationship to men. (Miss Jinnah) .. is depicted as (the) nurse, helpmate and support (of her brother). The fact that she was a candidate in a Presidential election is considered a matter not important enough to mention. What the writer felt more pertinent was that (she) always dressed 'modestly'. …*
>
> *Begum Mohammad Ali is portrayed as the mother of the famous Ali brothers … deeply rooted in the religious and social traditions of Islam. Nothing is ever mentioned of her work in the Freedom Movement, nor do we hear of the fact that she discarded the 'veil' at a public meeting. And although she stressed the need for women's education, textbooks warn the 'weaker sex' to beware the pernicious influences abroad. It is imperative, the writer says, that women should preserve eastern traditions (these are not spelt out) and not lose her balance.… no similar caution is issued to men.'*

These examples are sufficient to highlight the ways in which gender biases, predicated on notions of stereotypical femininity served the ideological and strategic needs of the Zia

263 Nasrene Shah; 'School Texts'; *Reinventing Women – the Representation of Women in the Media During the Zia Years*; Eds. Maha Malik and Neelam Hussain. (Simorgh Publications, Pakistan. 1985) pp.80-82.

Government. A look at contemporary language texts being used almost 15 years later show that little has changed in so far as the presence of gender stereotyping in school texts is concerned.

Language Texts

In addition to women's invisibility and/or absence in language exercises dealing with sports, etc., certain lessons consistently highlight women's subordinate or referential position. A chronological analysis will be made of the stories/exercises in this text to show how the consistent articulation of what is essentially a single unified message that (i) women have a subsidiary status in society, and (ii) that their only legitimate role or function is to do with household tasks associated with nurturing and caring for the family. The lesson, 'Family Relations' focuses its entire attention on showing that a woman's identity is subsumed in that of her husband after marriage as she is no longer known by her own name but as 'Mrs' So and So. By reiterating this point, the lesson passes on a message that has little to do with sentence construction but much to say about the subordinate status of a woman within the family unit. While one concedes that perhaps the writer is not aware that 'Mrs.' is now recognised as a gender biased term, the selection of this particular topic to highlight relationships points to his/her own gender bias.

A lesson on relationships could be really interesting. It could be presented in story form – using a situation to highlight family bonds, responsibilities, happy moments etc. The tone could be humorous or serious – there are host of ways to. The lesson in Book 7 class is none of these, as it comprises a string of relationships each one highlighting women's subsidiary and referential status. The very baldness of the narrative leaves little room for ambiguity as far as its gender-biased message is concerned. Given the fact that in ordinary language-use the universalised 'he' often stands in for both men and women, this kind of text serves to reinforce the perception that women do not merit an identity of their own

Following hard upon this lesson comes the story of the 'Lost Bag'. In itself it is rather a dull story of a rickshaw driver (male, of course) who finds that an unknown passenger has inadvertently left a bag in his rickshaw. The driver assumes that it must have belonged to a male passenger thus affirming the generally held perceptions about women's mobility and their absence in public space.

The next story, 'A Surprise Visit', has little to recommend it either as a story or as an exercise in rational behaviour. However, it is noticeable for the fact that even when much of the action takes place in a home, where you would expect to find women, none are present in the story. Except for one reference to absent sisters, women are missing throughout. The message clearly being one or all of the following: (i) even inside the four walls of the home women remain behind the scenes, (ii) women do not exist or are irrelevant (iii) have no part to play in family life other than cooking meals etc. and therefore don't feature when any action takes place. Coming after the 'Lost Bag', it would seem that no space, public or private, justifies women's visibility.

'Going on a Holiday' comes next. Other than being full of grammatical errors – in itself reprehensible in a language text, this story reinforces gender roles based on the binary division of male as the active/rational and female as passive/irrational. Thus we find that the father takes the decision to go on a family holiday, the mother makes tea. The brother flies kites and the sister whinges, complains and makes silly requests.

Following the established pattern of including some ‘heroic’ or important historical figure in language texts, the book contains a brief, hyperbolic sketch of Tariq bin Ziad. Women who have played important parts in history are almost always ignored, and the Punjab Textbook Board books are no exception to the rule. The fact that there have been women like Razia Sultana who was not only the first woman ruler of the Delhi Sultanate but also the first to get the mandate of the people for her rule, Gulbadan Begum and Zebunnissa, both of them highly educated women, the former a biographer and the latter a poet and philosopher, is seldom acknowledged in our textbooks.

Nor is this textual gender bias limited to the stories prepared especially for these books. The exercises are replete with it too. In an earlier lesson women’s exclusion had been made clear when we find girls to be wholly absent in a story called the ‘Cricket Match’. It would seem that later this lapse is somewhat rectified through one brief sentence in which we are told that Mary knows how to swim. However, the message here is much more insidious for while the sentence concedes that women are capable of swimming, the name of the girl draws attention in another direction. It is Mary who can swim, not Jamila or Shakila, thus indicating that swimming somehow is not permissible or recommended for Muslim girls. This time religion is used to set limits on women’s activities. It is a clever ploy, based on the logic that if the text cannot ignore an unpalatable fact, then the best thing to do is to associate it with another culture or religion.

This is not the only instance of its kind. Working women are undermined in an exercise in Book 8 of the same series in which we come across Mrs. Brown who works as an airhostess. Once again the name Mrs Brown enables the text to acknowledge and deny in the same breath, the fact that not only do women work, they also undertake jobs that bring them into constant contact with male passengers. The fact that Mrs Brown is a European or possibly a non-Muslim not only places her job beyond the pale of the morally permissible, it also stigmatises all Pakistani airhostesses and other working women who come into contact with members of the other sex during the course of their work.

A gender based division of roles is woven into almost all the exercises and stories in these books, thus we have constant references to men performing active and/or heroic roles and women engaged in passive, often pointless activities e.g. ‘Pakistani soldiers are among the bravest in the world’, “My brothers work in a factory ..’ on the one hand and ‘… their sisters wash clothes,’ ‘Imrana made some tea’ and ‘She was combing her hair’, on the other. The fact that (i) there are countless examples of brave women in history and large numbers of women work in factories and (ii) men also comb their hair and have been known to make tea and wash clothes is ignored. Also ignored is the fact that most professional cooks and laundrymen in Pakistan are men.

These randomly selected examples from English language texts for different levels bear evidence to the consistent presence of a strong gender bias in our schoolbooks. As stated earlier, due to reasons of space, reference would be made only to some English language text, however, that does not mean that other social science texts are free from sexist bias. Even the most superficial reading shows that the kinds of gender bias found in the English language texts are repeated in the social science texts as well.

Students are constantly being exposed to the material that is included in textbooks and regardless of its poor quality, messages predicated on notions of male superiority and female inferiority are being beamed at them. For the most part, women are either absent or barely visible in the lessons and stories that are specially prepared for these books. In instances where we do come across women, we find that they are either silent or that their

actions are limited strictly to prescribed roles e.g. they cook, clean, look after children or are generally supportive. In the few instances that we find women taking part in sports or initiating a conversation, they are either depicted as being irrational or are used to mouth platitudes – in so far as sports or working women are concerned, examples have already been given of the ways in which they are marginalised.

This is dangerous at many levels. By depicting a world that fails to take into account the diversity of our society, the Textbook Boards almost guarantee a lack of student interest in their work. Exposed constantly to a one dimensional, mono-visual world in texts which allows no room for discussion or debate and subjected to a teaching methodology that encourages rote learning as the only means to passing exams, girls and boys will absorb these gender biased and culturally skewed messages to which they are constantly exposed from class one onwards, because they echo the biases and prejudices of the society in which they live.

In a traditional patriarchal society, riven by differences of class, caste and economic difference, this can be and in fact has been proved to be dangerous. We have only to look at our newspapers and read about instances of domestic violence, sexual harassment in the streets and killings on 'suspicion of immoral behaviour', to realise that this is not an empty claim. It is only logical that if our young men and women grow up thinking that men alone have the right and the capacity for decision-making not only for themselves but on behalf of women also, that violence, coercion and the arbitrary use of force will be become the norm for socially accepted behaviour. And in the kind of world envisioned in these textbooks, where only 'Mary' can swim and only 'Mrs. Brown' can be an airhostess, workingwomen, sportswomen, women out in the streets for shopping, errands, or any other work, women in parks, or any other public space for reasons as legitimate as those which take men out of the house, will not only be always already guilty of 'wrong' behaviour, they will also be vulnerable to the many forms of violence that exist in our society.

If our aim, as citizens of a mature and progressive society, is to ensure that women are given free access to education, jobs, health, and other fundamental rights, then we need, as a first significant step to rewrite our textbooks for the simple reason that lessons learnt in childhood and early adolescence leave the deepest impress on the mind. If our aim is to work towards a humane and tolerant society, then it is imperative that we rid ourselves of the gender biases that inform our thinking and behaviour at the multiple levels of our lives.

Suggestions for Change

Language-use

Some examples of changes that need to be introduced in routine language-use:

1. Substitute the universal 'he' for the more specific 'he' or 'she' depending on the context.
2. 'Humankind' for the universal 'mankind' as the latter subsume the feminine category and render it invisible. Similarly, 'Chairperson' for 'Chairman' and Ms. for Mrs. as the former signifies an adult woman regardless of whether she is married or not. It is the equivalent of Mr. which also signifies an adult man regardless of whether he is married or not.

Representation

The ways in which women are represented need to be changed. Instead of constantly seeing them referentially or with reference to nurturing and caring activities, they could be seen in their other roles viz. doctors, engineers, lawyers, etc. This would not only redress the gender bias found in textbooks it would also present a more realistic view of our society.

There is also a need to emphasise women's economically productive role in society as opposed to their reproductive role. Beginning with the unpaid and unrecognised labour that sustains household economies viz. cooking, washing, housekeeping, looking after domestic animals, milking, making ghee, stitching clothes, caring for the sick and elderly, etc., and going on to include the multiple categories of work in the informal sector, it would be necessary to stress the fact that paid work in the public field is enabled by the unpaid work in the domestic enclosure. Textbooks should also acknowledge the work of the countless women in low paid private domestic jobs such as cooking, cleaning, washing, Caring for children, etc.

Acknowledge the work of the countless women in low paid private domestic jobs such as cooking, cleaning, washing etc.

Lessons based on popular heroes or personalities should also include women. E.g. Razia Sultana, Mai Bakhtawar, Zebunnissa come to mind immediately. Other examples could also be used of women who have excelled in sports, or in professions, which we conventionally associate only with men such as law, science, etc.

These steps would do much to redress the gender imbalance which exists in our books and which gives an invalid or distorted view of our society and culture. Boys too need to be relieved of the burden of 'macho' masculinity. Just as it is unfair for girls to grow up in world which defines them within the narrow confines of conventional femininity, so too is it difficult for boys to strive towards a narrowly defined and violent masculinity. One way of changing these perceptions would be to show boys in situations that bring out their gentleness. It would also help to include stories of men who have excelled in the arts such as painting or music or whose acts of bravery involve a more subtle kind of courage based on concern for others and tolerance for those who think differently from them and not on muscle-power alone.

In conclusion, it needs to be mentioned that in rectifying the gender biases that abound in our school books, we would be taking a step towards achieving a society that would be enabling not just for women but for men as well, because if the constraint of the stereotype limits and wastes women's potential for growth and development, men also do not escape its taint. Gender relations are a social construct and the ways in which we women and men perceive each other and ourselves are filtered through socially constructed lenses. Human potential, the gifts or talents that each individual, whether male or female, is born with, are not given on the basis of sex-difference. If these God-given gifts are to be realised, we need to grow out of the shackles of these gender-based stereotypes.

CHAPTER 7

Primary Education: A Critique of the Curriculum[264]

Mohammad Pervez

The Urdu curriculum for Class 1 to 5 is printed in two separate booklets. The first booklet is entitled *Marboot Nisab; Jamat Awal ta Soem* (Integrated Curriculum; Class 1 to 3). This booklet is not yet available in a finally printed form but the available document appears to be an advance press proof copy. The second booklet, which is in published form, is entitled as *Nisab-i-Urdu: (Zaban-i-Awal): Jamat Chiharam wa Panjam* [Urdu Curriculum (First Language) Class 4 and 5].

The contents and pedagogy of these two documents are discussed below.

Integrated Curriculum for Class 1 to 3

The preface explains that an emphasis as been laid on "literacy" skills as against burdening the child with a load of concepts and knowledge. The integrated curriculum integrates teaching of Urdu language with "other subjects", i.e., social sciences, science and Islamiat, but not mathematics as it requires more continuity and linkages.

It is claimed in the Introduction that international trends in curriculum development have been followed. The document refers to "back to basics", which is at least three decades old issue in curriculum development, which did emerged then but soon disappeared.

Six issues have been highlighted which form the basis of the revision of curriculum. Although all these bases are questionable, but one in particular - need to align the curriculum and add religious material into it - is in consideration of Mosque Schools. The Mosque school is a minor and hopefully temporary phase in the development of school infrastructure for Pakistani children. Aligning the curriculum towards this specific consideration can lead to an attempt to distort the entire class 1 to 3 curriculum.

264 At any point of time it became almost impossible to determine what the present curriculum is. With many official and unofficial contacts with the Curriculum Wing of the Federal Ministry of Education, it was established that the curriculum is at a fairly advanced stage of revision. The Ministry was not willing to share the draft of the curriculum that was being revised or has been revised. However, with some personal contacts it became known that the revised curriculum is at a stage of being printed. These contacts were helpful in making some advance press copies available for review. In October 2002, some of the curriculum became available in properly printed form, dated as March 2002.

After admitting that devising an integrated curriculum is a technically complex endeavor, a simpler solution has been proposed, which amounts to really not integrating the curriculum.

The principle laid down for development of this curriculum is that development of literacy skills can take precedence over knowledge, information, concepts, and terms. This position indicates lack of awareness of the basic developmental process in human child.

Purpose of Integrated Curriculum

The main purpose of integrated curriculum has been enunciated as an increase in literacy rate. The designers of the curriculum do not realize that three years of education cannot develop any useful or useable literacy skills in children. Empirical evidence in Pakistan indicates that even after five years of primary education only 35% children can read with full comprehension and only 17% are able to write a very simple letter.

General Purposes

The general purposes laid down for this curriculum completely ignore and are indifferent to the basic makeup of a child in this age. These objectives have been formatted in such a manner that it would not be possible to assess the outcome of this curriculum.

The Curriculum

Class 1

The main body of the curriculum has been presented in four categories i.e., General Purposes, Specific Purposes, Concepts/Skills, and Subject Content.

Neither the general nor the specific purposes have been formulated in the form of testable instructional objectives. These are too general to relate skills, concepts, or contents with the objectives. Many objectives have not been carefully assessed to see if they are suitable for the Class 1 child. Given the likelihood that children who enter Class 1, have a large variety of mother-tongues, which often is not Urdu, expecting them to speak with "correct accent" is demanding too much (page 6).

The basic and all-important methodology of teaching Urdu has neither been seriously considered nor outlined. Apparently beginning with characters, rather than words, have been suggested. This is inappropriate for children because characters are meaningless for children while only words referring to tangibles objects can interest them.

There appears to be a deliberate attempt to overemphasize "madrasa and masjid" in this document. A majority of Pakistani children study in schools – not in madrasas. The word "madrasa" is a legitimate Urdu word but has been culturally associated with religious schools. The English word "school" has acquired a legitimate position in Urdu language (just like "college" and "university").

The four categories of the scheme of this booklet are soon mixed up. At many places it becomes difficult to distinguish between four (or five, if there is a distinction between skills and concepts) of these. For instance, at 2.3 (b) (page 8), "… so that he/she … remains confident and starts life as a well mannered individual" is a "Subject Content" not a "General Purpose"!

At serial No. 3, all the four columns are inappropriate for children of Class 1. Children of this age group cannot handle such complex and complicated concepts as “loving Muslim beliefs”, Muslim values, monotheism, God as sustainer and provider, Prophet-hood, finality of the Prophet-hood, Qur’an as the final Book, etc. (page 9).

While the child would be struggling (or enjoying, depending upon ability and the teacher) with developing linkages between basic sounds and shapes of Urdu language, introducing him/her to the Arabic alphabet would be a disaster for the development of learning in the child. Similarly all the memorization of religious content (without making any sense of it for the child) would be tantamount to dampening her/his emerging interest in the developing relations between sounds, shapes and meanings (3.1 to 3.5 at Page 9 and 10).

There are also serious issues of religious minorities who would also be studying the all-encompassing Integrated Curriculum, which is based upon a justification of using language as the vehicle of teaching everything. It is not clear how the mixing of religious studies with other subjects would be avoided for children of minority religions.

The concept of speed, as it has been written in the column of concepts/skills, and has been mentioned in Subject Content as “concept of slow and fast,” cannot be managed by a child of five or six years of age.

Class 2

The first general Purpose in class 2 is the same as it is in class 1. It only indicates that the curriculum lacks developmental sensitivity about the child and sequential progressions in the curriculum.

Copying written material [1.4 (a) at page 14], is a very inappropriate suggestion in Subject Content. Such an exercise will smother the all-important originality and free flow of children’s hand-mind coordination and if this is done seriously and repeatedly in schools, it will make the child a “copier” rather than an individualizing and creatively functioning human being.

With the exception of life history (in form of interesting and absorbing stories for children) of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), all the religious sections in class 2 are as inappropriate as they were for class 1. The same and more is true about reading of Arabic. It is very significant that the child is not confused at this stage between two separate languages (with some imbibed similarities, which will impede learning reading and writing of Urdu language rather than facilitating it.

Some very good science contents are included in class 2. However, there is not sufficient emphasis to point out that these must invoke interest and curiosity in children and be based upon experiential learning. It must be pointed out that science for children is not memorizing concepts and verbal contents. Rather, these are opportunities for exploration, joys of discovering and experiencing, and encouraging curiosity.

No. 6 at Page 21, developing patriotism, is a very inappropriate general purpose for a class 2 child. She or he is too young to handle the concept of patriotism. What can be done is to create curiosity and provide information to children about tangible aspects of Pakistan. Sermonization at this intellectual level of children, as proposed at 6.1 Page 21, is counterproductive and is never imbibed in the cognitive structure of the child and eventually becomes an empty slogan. The same and more is true about a much more abstract concept of *Islami Akhuwwat* (Islamic Brotherhood) (page 22).

Once again, the curriculum does seem to emphasize science work for children but it requires a greater emphasis on activities in contrast to memorization exercises (Page 18-20). Upgrading these activities to abstract concepts must be strictly avoided because it is counterproductive.

Class 3

Once again, there is no distinction between general purposes for class 3 from those of class 1. The religious General Purpose also continues to be the same. However, its treatment in class 3 is somewhat better, 3.1 (a), (b), 3.2 (a), for instance. The problem of mixing up two language and lack of sensitivity to minorities continues to exist. Nevertheless some formulations such as 3.7 (a) to (d), working cooperatively, dignity of labour, sympathy, truth, simplicity, etc., are good examples of incorporating basic moral teachings.

Science part is, once again good.

No. 5. “Creating love with reference to Pakistan” is not a do-able or testable educational objective. There are, again, lots of sermons that do not have any educational, attitudinal or behavioral value for class 3 children

Class Activities

It is good to include a section for suggested classroom activities. These can provide some bases for training of teachers. However, their close linkages with the body of curriculum point out the same issues that have been outlined above. Beside their inability to carefully align with intellectual levels of fast growing children, these are oblivious to a presence of some minority children in classrooms. Almost all the religious content is also insensitive to the mental potentials and needs of children in this age.

Urdu Curriculum Class 4 and 5

Here the assumption is not that of an integrated curriculum but teaching of Urdu stands as an objective itself. This again poses a difficulty because teaching of a language at this stage cannot be an objective on its own. Language is one major vehicle of communication – oral as well as written – and must be treated as such. Instead of emphasizing needs of children in class 4 and 5, there is too much emphasis on sham glorification of Urdu language. This is a constant problem in elementary schools curricula in Pakistan because almost all “specialists” of curriculum development are “subject specialists” and are loyal to their “subjects” rather then being loyal to children and their education. The national objectives and objectives of teaching Urdu are too “subject” oriented and less child oriented or education-oriented.

The format and style of this document is very different from that of the Integrated Curriculum for class 1 to 3. This speaks of lack of coordination between these two levels of curriculum development. This lack of coordination will further sharpen when we look at the work of different “specialist” for class 4 and 5. They would be working at cross-purposes many a time.

After sections on Importance and Status of Teaching of Urdu, National Objectives, and Objectives of Teaching Urdu, there is a section on class-wise objectives. These are generally better formulated. They are often in do-able and testable forms. Section on

Structure of Language (8, at page 10), can only be commented if there is an articulated methodology for teaching of Urdu which does not exist in this or any other document.

Once again there is a section (10, page 6) that makes certain demands upon children, which are neither do-able nor testable. This is on “Loving Urdu Language.” Love of Urdu may come if it is taught and learned in a lovable and interesting manner. It cannot be demanded. The same is true about section 11 (National Civilization (?) and Culture) and even more so about section 12 (Respect for Islamic Beliefs and Practices.

The comments on objectives for class 5 would be about the same as above. There appears to be a pattern of desires to incorporate some objectives that may be considered as ideological but mostly boil down to indoctrination or propaganda. This is not a stuff of good humanistic education. However, despite strong desire (to the good luck of Pakistani children and citizens) there is clear sloppiness to achieve that. Sections 10, 11, and 12 in class 5 objectives are clear examples of this.

The next section is Principles of Instructions for Teachers, which are generally quite good.

The next two sections are Proposed Topics/Titles for both the classes, separately. There are not many details in these sections and therefore, it is difficult to comment upon them.

Nevertheless, as there is expected to be separate curriculum of Islamiat for classes 4 and 5, one would like to question the appropriateness of a distinct overloading of religious contents in Urdu curriculum of classes 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 8

Teaching Human Rights

Syed Jaffar Ahmed

Introduction

This chapter addresses the subject of the treatment of human rights in the syllabi of Pakistani schools. As education and the subject of curricula cannot be treated in isolation from the overall educational system or the factors and forces which shape the educational system, a reference to these is also inevitable. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section illustrates the present state of education traces the phases of educational planning in the past and provides details of the structure of the education system. Section Two provides a critical analysis of the primary and secondary schools textbooks with especial reference of subjects which can be conducive for the projection of human rights values. This section also refers to the initiatives taken by the successive regimes in the last few years with respect to the realisation of human rights education in the country. At the end of the section a set of recommendations has been suggested. The paper concludes with a set of recommendations.

Section One

Background

Education is regarded by many as a fundamental human right. A few official documents of Pakistan also acknowledge it to be a basic human right.[265] The constitution of Pakistan[266] which has a lengthy chapter on Fundamental Rights, does not include education in this section. The chapter on the Principles of Policy, the constitution makes it a responsibility of the state to promote educational and economic interests of backward classes, remove literacy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within the minimum possible period. It also requires the state to make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit; and enable the people of different areas, through education, training, agricultural and industrial development

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265 *National Education Policy 1998-2010, Draft* (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, [1998]), p. 1.

266 *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan* (Islamabad: Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Justice Division, 1985). See Part II, chapters 1 (Fundamental Rights) and 2 (Principles of Policy).

and other methods, to participate fully in all forms of national activities, including employment in the service of Pakistan. The present constitution of Pakistan was enacted in 1973, but the high ideals it had set for state still await to be achieved.

The importance of education as a human right lies in the fact that once attained, it has a multiplier effect; an educated individual is likely to be more aware of all other fundamental rights a human being is entitled to. Moreover, in the words of an author 'only the people who are aware of their rights can ensure that their rights will not be trampled on. Learning about one's own rights builds respect for the rights of others and gives confidence to assert them'.[267] It is in this context that one can attribute primacy to the right of education. To what extent has Pakistan been able to fulfill the commitment to its people with respect to expansion of education, universal literacy, end of discrimination in the availability of facilities of education, etc? This is the crucial question the answer to which can be derived from an objective examination of educational system in Pakistan.

Like her political history, the history of Pakistan's educational system is also a chequered one. Education in the last 56 years has remained an arena of experiments, and implementation of divergent, and often, contradictory policies. It has also been a history of high ideals and promises and a dismal record of poor achievements. The educational history is also compounded by widening of gaps and by numerous distortions. A few data will help substantiate these observations. According to the *Human Development in South Asia 1998*, 'while South Asia is the most illiterate region in the world, Pakistan is the most illiterate country within South Asia'.[268] According to unofficial, but authoritative, sources the aggregate literacy rate in Pakistan at present is about 38 per cent. The literacy rate for adult males and females is 50 and 24 per cent respectively. Of the total adult population of 76 million, 49 million, that is about two-third, are illiterate. In this population 60 per cent are women. Moreover of all the primary school age children, 37 percent of the boys and 55 percent of the girls do not go to school. More than half of the children who go to school drop out before completing the fifth grade. The average mean years of schooling is just 1.9 years, which compares poorly with 3.9 years for developing countries.[269]

The enrolment at the secondary level stands at only 21 per cent which is only half the South Asian average. Pakistan's tertiary enrolment ratio is 2.6 per cent which is the lowest in the region and twice as low as that of India. Only 1.6 per cent of secondary school children opt for technical and vocational education. Between 1951 and 1997 the literacy rate has risen by a mere 1.2 per cent per annum. In Balochistan – the most backward province of the country – adult female literacy is just 1.7 percent. This dismal record in the field of education contributes to the poor position Pakistan holds in the human development ranking of the world. According to a Human Development Centre's report, Pakistan ranked 134 in the list of 174 countries in 1997.[270] Pakistan has this distressing picture of education despite the fact that in the last 56 years the country has had a number of education policies, which were prepared and projected with very high-sounding intentions. The country has witnessed twelve high level education reports and five major education policies in the past. Of these documents only the World Bank made six, while the Asian Development Bank made one document.[271]

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267 Sankar Sen, *Human Rights in a Developing Society* (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 1998), p. 53.
268 Mahbub ul Haq and Khadija Haq, *Human Development in South Asia 1998* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1998), p.51.
269 *Ibid.*
270 Mahbub ul Haq, *Human Development in South Asia 1997* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p.40.
271 See for details Syed Jaffar Ahmed, 'Persistent Crisis of Education', *The News International* (Karachi), 14 August 1999.

The efforts in evolving an education policy began almost soon after the creation of the country, when on 27 November 1947, an All Pakistan Education Conference was held under the patronage of the government. Another education conference was held in 1951. The two conferences laid down the principles which had to guide the future education system of the country. In 1958 Martial Law was imposed in the country. General Mohammad Ayub Khan established a commission on national education under S.M. Sharif. The report of the commission, published in 1959, suggested that the education system should be so devised that it met the individual and collective needs of the country. The report recommended that the educational system should enable people to live productive lives, according to their talent and interests. The policy undertook to develop skills of the people, train a leadership group and promote vocational abilities. Though the report identified the objective of education as being the creation of a welfare state, and had a liberal and western outlook, the educational system projected in it had an elitist character. Ayub regime was removed by another Martial Law in 1969 under General Mohammad Yahya Khan. In an effort to pacify the student unrest which had contributed to the downfall of Ayub Khan, General Yahya established a new commission under Air Martial Noor Khan whose new education policy was published in 1969.

The Noor Khan Commission report suggested apart from certain traditional recommendations quite a few bold measures. For example it proposed freeing education from bureaucratic control and democratising it. Most of the recommendations of the report however were not implemented. In December 1971, a civilian regime was established in the country under Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, who, soon after taking over, introduced, in 1972 an education policy which covered a period of eight years. The new policy set before itself numerous objectives including equalisation of opportunities of education, arresting the declining educational standards and the correction of the growing imbalance between various types of education. This policy claimed to be oriented towards the adjustment of educational programs with economic needs of the society. It committed itself to make education an instrument of social change and development and to bring about a democratic social order. The most important decision of Bhutto's education policy was the nationalisation of educational institution which was done with the claim that it would expand educational opportunities for the poor and would improve salary structure of the teachers. However, the nationalisation policy despite expanding the educational opportunities didnot improve the quality of education. The regime also failed in arresting the deteriorating standard of education. In the absence of community oversight the nationalisation of educational institutions paved the way for corruption and increase in the role of bureaucracy.

In 1977, Pakistan once again fell to military dictatorship, this time led by General Zia-ul-Haq, who introduced his education policy in 1979. As the military regime had adopted the slogan of Islam to legitimise its rule, the education policy introduced by it also made excessive use of this slogan. 'Islamisation of Education' became the catch phrase of the regime even though the government as well as the educationists in its service could not clearly elaborate, the contents and parameters of Islamisation, with the result that the new policy produced only confusion.[272] General Zia also reversed the policy of nationalisation and allowed private educational institutions. However the private institutions soon turned into commercial ventures at the cost of general availability to people. The regime did nothing to check the trend. their owners started minting money from these institutions instead of focusing on the improvement of educational standards. The regime only saw it happening.

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272 See for a vivid discussion of the consequences for education of General Zia-ul-Haq's Islamisation policy, Pervez Amirali Hoodbhoy and Abdul Hameed Nayyar, 'Rewriting the History of Pakistan', in Asghar Khan (ed.), *Islam, Politics and the State The Pakistan Experience* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1985).

After the restoration of civilian rule in 1988, the successive governments again came up with their respective education policies. The 1992 education policy introduced during Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's first tenure, proclaimed its objectives as being the restructuring of the educational system on modern lines; promoting the teachings of Islamic social sciences; strengthening of the students' cultural moorings; bringing out the creative, critical and dynamic abilities of the students; providing equal opportunities to the poor and rich alike; ensuring the 100 per cent participation of children in education at the primary level by the year 2000; eradication of illiteracy through formal and non-formal methods; revising of the curricula for improving the quality of education; promotion of academic and democratic culture in institutions; improvement of the role of private sector in educational field; participation of community in educational affairs.

In 1998, during his second tenure in office, Nawaz Sharif introduced another education policy. The policy covered a period of twelve years (1998-2010), and aimed at preparing Pakistan to enter the twenty-first century as an advanced country. This policy also set high targets. For example it described the unveralisation of education by 2010 as its corner stone. The policy's authors estimated that to achieve this target 40,000 new primary schools would be established in the country. It also announced the starting of evening shift in 20,000 schools apart from the establishment of similar number of mosque schools. The policy provided for establishment of 15,000 middle schools and 7000 secondary schools in the next five years. In the polytechnic institutes the enrolment was envisaged to increase from 42,000 to 62,000 by 2002. The policy proposed to bring curricula in conformity with the needs of the twenty first century. It suggested innovative programs such as non-formal basic education, community schools, use of mosque schools for formal primary education, provision of education card for needy students, setting up of residential model secondary schools in rural setting (initially one at each district), introduction of competitive textbooks at secondary school level, introduction of a national education testing service, decentralisation and community mobilisation, etc. The policy despite promising decentralisation in fact strengthened centralisation. For instance, it proposed the formation of district education authorities which were likely to facilitate bureaucratic control in education. The policy was also vague about the medium of instruction. It did not offer to bring an end to parallel systems (i.e., public, private and Madrasa) of education prevalent in the country.

Finally, the education policy sought to deal with violence in educational institutions not realising that without eliminating violence from the society peace could not be restored in educational institutions. The policy also failed to end the biases of social class and gender in the syllabus.[273]

This brief survey of the various education policies introduced at different times in the history of the country shows that Pakistan was never short of policies and programs. Despite their different ideological and motivational intentions, all these policies did was suggest sets of positive measures. If despite this the country could not move towards educational emancipation, it is because of the failure of the implementers, the lack of political will on the part of the successive governments, and the misconceived national priorities.

An Overview of Pakistan's Education System

Being a federal country Pakistan's constitution has adopted a scheme of division of subjects whereby the legislative and executive competence over various subjects has been divided among the federal and the provincial governments. In the federal list of the constitution are

273 See *National Education Policy 1998-2000, Draft, op.cit.*

enumerated the subjects over which the federal government alone can legislate, and has the powers of execution. The second list of subjects is called the concurrent list which comprises subjects on which both the federal and provincial governments have the power to make laws. The constitution does not have a separate list of provincial subjects but all the residuary subjects which are left from being included in the above two lists are left at the discretion of the provinces. The subject of education has also been bifurcated in parts: while curricula, syllabus, planning, policy, centers of excellence, standards of education, and Islamic education come under the concurrent list; the rest of the aspects of education are left as residuary, and are in provincial competence. Since the constitution also lays down that with respect to the subjects of the concurrent list the federal legislation would have primacy even if a province had legislated on it before the federal government, this makes the role of the central government dominating over the provinces. The overall constitutional scheme regarding education suggests that while planning, policy-making and financial control are in the hands of the federal government, the provinces are responsible for the execution of the policies and the actual running of the system. Though a set of educational institutions is directly under the federal government, most of the institutions come under the provinces.

The finances of the education are shared by both federal and provincial governments with the exception of the universities. Before 1979, the provinces managed the recurring grants of the universities, while the developmental grants were arranged by the federal government. Since 1979, the funding of the universities has entirely been taken over by the federal government.[274]

A Federal Curriculum Wing in the Federal Education Ministry prepares the outlines of the curriculum. In the provinces there exist their own bureaus of curriculum, which in practice do not prepare the curriculum for the provinces but are responsible for the training of the school teachers. The actual preparation of the prescribed textbooks in the provinces is done by the provincial textbook boards, who are also responsible for the publication and distribution of textbooks.

Section Two

Pakistan's educational curricula have oscillated between liberal and conservative approaches. At times conflicting themes have also been incorporated in the same syllabus.

The number of subjects being taught at the school level is fairly high as compared with many other countries. A student has to study at least two languages and two other compulsory subjects (Islamiat, and social studies or Pakistan studies) in almost all levels up to graduation. Apart from this, mathematics, general science and other subjects are also taught from the primary level. In the province of Sindh, at least, the students are also required to study their regional language. This load of subjects greatly affects the ability of students to learn. Educationists have all along been questioning the rationale of over-burdening the students at tender ages with multiple subjects.

Human Rights in the Curriculum

Human rights values can be projected in the subjects of Social Studies, Pakistan Studies, Islamiat, and Literature. A survey of textbooks of the first three subjects being taught from class I to XIV, reveals a number of important points about the curriculum planners' treatment of human rights themes. For instance:

274 For its scheme of division of powers, see *The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, op.cit.,* fourth schedule.

1. It seems that the human rights issues were never incorporated in the curricula as a conscious decision. One finds references to human rights here and there but they do not represent a systematic thought pattern in the courses. For instance in a number of textbooks of social studies taught in class, I, III, and VIII and the books of Islamiat for class I, II, III, there is no theme pertaining to human rights. In books of other levels in the same subjects the theme does occur but only occasionally and not in detail.
2. In the textbooks of various subjects one hardly finds the development of the concept of human rights over different levels of education. For example in class VI books of Social Studies published by the Sindh and the Punjab textbook boards, rights and duties of the citizens have been mentioned rather clearly and in some detail, but in the book of Social Studies texts for the next class VII, published by the same boards one finds only four sentences about the rights of the citizens. In the Social Studies texts for class VIII (published by the Punjab Board), 'human rights' is mentioned at two places in a passage on United Nations; the book does not give a detailed account of human rights. The Sindh Textbook Board's book for the same grade does not mention human rights at all.
3. The references to human rights are too brief to make an impact on the minds of the children. Much of the responsibility to impart knowledge and create awareness about human rights is thus put on the teachers. However, the teachers generally rely on textbooks and the teachers' guides, and hesitate to take liberty in expanding on the approved texts.
4. Since human rights are not taught in a structured manner, no special educational manuals on human rights education are prepared and published either by the government or the private publishers.
5. The books being taught in the subjects of Social Studies and Pakistan Studies have less human rights content than is found in the subject of Islamiat. The former two subjects, which in their character are, or should be, secular in approach, and should incorporate themes such as human rights in a structured and reasoned manner, have treated it casually. In the subject of Islamiat themes of human rights do recur either directly or indirectly. For example one finds references to *Huqooq-ul-Ebad* (rights of other human beings) along with *Huqooq-ullah* (rights of God). Similarly Islam's teaching of *Adl-o-Ehsan* (justice and benevolence) is also quoted at various places. Though at times these teachings are not discussed in detail and no objective references to their meanings in Pakistani context are given, the presence of these phrases can be made use of by enlightened teachers in elaborating the themes of human rights.
6. Human rights awareness can be created through school syllabi, if the social context of Pakistan is taken as the background, and examples of human rights violations as obtained in the country are selected and analysed before the students. The textbooks in Pakistani schools do not address the human-rights issues of Pakistani society directly. The textbooks' contents are by and large generalised sermons about good behaviour and virtues. These texts do not comment on the social realities which exist in the country. Thus one finds no referenes to facts of gender inequalities, bonded labour in Sindh and the Punjab, *Karo Kari* (honour killing) in Sindh, *Watta Satta* (exchange marriage) in the Punjab and numerous inhuman customs practiced under the tribal systems of Balochistan and Frontier. Similarly no attempt is made to address the evils of child labour, and discrimination against minorities as found in the political system and social attitudes in the courses of studies.
7. It is also quite surprising that the textbooks at the high school level do not even refer to the constitution. Nor do they select themes from the Constitution to be projected in the syllabi. The Constitution of Pakistan in its chapter on fundamental rights cites a number of basic rights which the state commits to protect. For example the constitution states that no person should be deprived of life or liberty. It forbids slavery, and prohibits forced labour and traffic in human beings. The constitution also proclaims that a child below the

age of 14 years cannot be engaged in any factory or mine or any hazardous employment. It also lays down that dignity of man and the privacy of home shall be inviolable. Every citizen has been ensured the right to move freely throughout the country and settle in any part of it. The constitution recognises the right of the citizens to assemble, to form association or union, and to form, or be a member of, a political party. Every citizen has the right to enter in any lawful profession or occupation, and to conduct any lawful trade or business. The freedoms of speech and expression, and the rights to profess, practice and propagate one's religion have also been ensured in the basic law of the country. These are only some of a fairly long list of fundamental rights ensured by the constitution. Only if this chapter alone with the chapter on Principles of Policy could be incorporated fully or in parts (at different levels of education) in the syllabi in schools, it would have served as a useful source of creating human rights awareness in the country. But, ironically, the education planners in the country have either simply not thought about it or they were not encouraged in doing so by the authorities that be. One possible explanation is that since the constitution itself had been suspended, or held in abeyance, for long and since the designing of curriculum has been controlled by the governments, the authors of the syllabi had no choice but to refrain from citing from the constitution.

Some recent official initiatives in the last few years

Though human rights education has remained, by and large, a neglected area, a few initiatives have been taken by the successive governments in the last few years, ostensibly, because of an international environment wherein one finds growing emphasis on the awareness about, and realisation of, human rights. Moreover after eleven years of military rule civilian regimes came to power and continued until 1999, after which military rule returned to Pakistan. The civilian regimes during 1988-99 adopted human rights rhetoric in order to demonstrate a departure from the system of the past.[275] .

In 1994, the United Nations General Assembly declared 1995-2004 as the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education. This declaration coincided with the few decisions taken in Pakistan with respect to human rights. For example, a Human Rights Cell was created in the Ministry of Interior in 1993. In September 1994, the cell was shifted to the Ministry of Law. Later, in December 1995, a full-fledged Ministry of Human Rights was established by the government. In 1996 after the overthrow of Benazir Bhutto's second government the acting government dissolved the ministry in December, and Human Rights Wing was re-created and was attached to the Ministry of Law, which was given the name of Ministry of Law, Justice and Human Rights. The Ministry is responsible to meet the national and international obligations and commitments of the government regarding charters, covenants, and agreements of which Pakistan is a signatory. The ministry is also entrusted with the job of protecting and promoting human rights in the country. According to a senior joint secretary of the ministry the functions of the ministry are:

> Apart from reviewing human rights situation in the country, including implementation of law, policy and measures, the Ministry also takes initiatives in harmonisation of legislations, regulations and practices with the international covenants/ agreements to which Pakistan is a party. The Ministry also

275 However, as the reports of independent human rights organisations working in Pakistan, like the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan and Amnesty International, show, the civilian regimes also could not improve the state of human rights in the country. The measures taken by these regimes were taken either half-heartedly, or were not supported by strong actions. The measures announced by these regimes, however, may be mentioned, just to be fair to them

represents Pakistan in international bodies, organizations and conferences in conjunction with Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[276]

The Government of Pakistan is committed to a number of international human rights agreements. Being a signatory of the UN Charter, Pakistan is obliged to follow the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It has so far signed and ratified following covenants and agreements:

i) Convention of the Rights of the Child
ii) International Convention of the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid
iii) International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports
iv) UN Declaration on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination
v) Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide
vi) Protocol Amending the Slavery Convention
vii) Supplementary Convention of the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices
viii) Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others
ix) Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

> *In order to implement their professed commitment to human rights a number of decisions were taken by the governments in the last few years. One important decision which coincided with the UN Decade of Human Rights Education was the establishment of the Senate's Functional Committee on Human Rights. This committee was made responsible to review the human rights situation in the country and recommend the remedial measures. A Jail Reforms Commission submitted its recommendations in the same period. Similarly in order to examine and review the laws found to be discriminatory against women, a judicial commission was established headed by a judge of the Supreme Court. The Commission submitted its report in 1997.*[277]

At present a Human Rights Mass Awareness and Education Program is being run by the Ministry of Law, Justice and Human Rights with the following components as being its aims.

a) Media campaign with the aim of creating awareness of human rights among the masses in general and government officers of law enforcement agencies in particular.
b) Training programs with the aim of training various target groups involved with human rights promotion and protection.
c) Development of syllabi/curricula with the aim of training/educating the target groups.
d) Identifying, supporting and strengthening of an institute/unit at a national university, in order to conduct research and to do other related activities in the field of human rights.

The ministry is also a partner in another project, 'Promotion and Implementation of Human Rights: An Institutional Capacity Building Project' (PIHR). The objective of the project is 'to build and strengthen effective human rights institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, and an active participation of the country in the international human rights protection system.'[278]

The duration of the project is 30 months. The project will be completed in four phases:

i) Research;

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276 M.S.I. Ghauri, 'Government of Pakistan's Efforts in Promoting and Protecting HR in Pakistan', *Emancipation*, 23 January 1999.

277 See *Report of Commission of Inquiry for Women 1997* (n.p., n.d.).

278 'Executive Summery of the Project', *Mimeographed.*

ii) Training of trainers, seminars and preliminary design of action plan;
iii) Implementation of an action plan; and
iv) Evaluation;

The above two projects are part of a wider national plan on human rights.

Recommendations

The measures referred to above can be taken as the initial steps on a long road leading to the realisation of a noticeable level of human rights education in the country. The measures would at best constitute the preliminary infrastructure of human rights education, whereas a gigantic task still awaits to be planned. A few recommendations can be made in this respect which could also highlight the areas in which strong initiatives are required:

1. In order to make Pakistan's education system a vehicle of human rights awareness, a completely new and fresh outlook is needed. The education planners alone cannot be made responsible to demonstrate this new approach. In fact no education system operates above the social and political system. The need to re-structure the educational system cannot thus be fulfilled without the state taking the initiative. This the state can do only after democratising itself and making its perceptions egalitarian and humane.
2. Within the domain of education the first thing which needs to be done is to evaluate the existing system, and to ascertain and analyze prevalent distortions.
3. The most crucial aspect of an educational system is its curriculum. The existing syllabi in Pakistani schools and other institutions contain national, class, social, gender, and communal biases. The ahistoric texts reinforce intolerance in the minds and attitudes of the children. The syllabi need to be revised removing the existing biases in them.
4. In order to make the syllabus more acceptable and relevant for the students, the Pakistani social context should be incorporated in it. Regarding making students conscious about human rights there is a need to create awareness among them about the violation of human rights committed in the country. Without making the students socially conscious and infusing in them the spirit of critical enquiry and judgment, they cannot be prepared to become useful citizens, conscientious about their and other's human rights.
5. Mere change in the syllabi or alterations in the courses of studies and inducting Human Rights in them will not yield the desired results unless the teaching methods are also not improved. The manner in which knowledge is imparted, the language used for this purpose, the models chosen and the teacher-student relationship are also extremely important in this respect. Before looking into a text, a child looks at the teacher. The behaviour of the teacher is the first guide, and as such the teacher is the role-model who can cultivate the desired values in the students by his or her behaviour. Texts supports him in his endeavour. Regarding Human Rights also, if a teacher's attitude towards his pupils is based on human respect and human dignity and if he or she teaches the book not in a patron-client framework but in a human-human relationship, it would have lasting impact.
6. Human rights education is not confined to the students and the textbooks. A large part of human rights education deals with the teacher who plays crucial role in promoting human rights values. The teacher's conduct and behaviour become a model for the students. Therefore, if a teacher in his or her dealings with the students, and while teaching in the classroom, demonstrates a sense of responsibility to others, respects others' point of view, encourages discussion and debate, does not discriminate between the students, and treats the students at par with him or herself, he or she sets an example of respect of human rights which is more forceful than a written text. This is a general challenge for all educational systems in all the countries as to how to get such teachers who have the

ability to become the moral role-models for the students. Such teachers can emerge from the socially conscious and morally alive segments of the society. The civil society in Pakistan owes a great deal of responsibility to strengthen the values of human rights on as bigger a scale as possible so that the teachers upon taking to their profession do so with a sense of commitment.

7. Apart from rewriting the texts there is need to rethink the existing pedagogy. The learning methods, the teacher-student relationship, and the tools of learning are all required to be revised with a view to improving them and harmonising them with the values of respect and rights.
8. A system that enables a few to acquire knowledge and education while deprives numerous others from this, in fact begins with the denial of a fundamental human right to a wide section of the society. Universalisation of education is, therefore, essential for making education a vehicle of human rights. The government is thus required to move beyond verbal promises of making primary and secondary education universal. This the government can do by putting its priorities right, and by attributing primacy to human resource development.
9. The school-community linkages are essential for materialising the objective of the promotion of human rights in the country. At present such linkages are almost non-existent.

Short Notes

Note 1

Teaching of Urdu: Class 6 to 10

Tariq Rahman

Introduction

It has been pointed out by a number of researchers, some of whom are part of this project, that the textbooks of public school children (i.e., government schools using Urdu and Sindhi as media of instruction) are highly propagandist. They contain omissions, inaccuracies and use of polemical style which results in students hating Hindus and becoming too chauvinistic and militaristic. They also contain material glorifying war and violence which tends to make the young people value war and violent, rather than peaceful solutions to problems. Islam too has been used to sanctify this policy of creating an anti-Hindu, anti-India, pro-war and `chauvinistic mentality. Such a mentality makes it impossible for a government to be flexible. One obvious problem is that if the government wants to adopt moderate policies or avoid an armed conflict with India on Kashmir, then it will find it difficult to do so because public opinion, shaped in school as well as outside it, will consider it a betrayal of principles. Moreover, the lessons are addressed to Muslims and make one insensitive to other religious minorities. They are also insensitive to women and tend to either ignore them altogether or present them in stereotypical roles.

Language texts turn out to be an easy tool in the hands of a propagandist. Fiery poems are often the best means of raising passions, both of love and war. Much of the jingoism in Urdu literature, therefore, resides in poetry, which is otherwise known to be a delicate medium of expression of beauty and love.

When it comes to propaganda in textbooks, the writer may not always be in a position to devise poems to suit the need. More often, therefore, prose is used to create chauvinism and hate. In the pre-propaganda days, Urdu textbooks of Pakistani schools used to contain pieces of literature written by foremost Urdu writers as lessons. That has changed now. Because there is so much emphasis on indoctrination, the book writers find it convenient to compose their own stories for lessons, a practice that has now reached alarming proportions.

With this in mind I was asked to suggest modifications in the textbooks of Urdu by the organizers of this project. This report is meant to introduce the reader to what I have done. It

should be read in conjunction with the modified textbooks which have been submitted separately.

Methodology and Rationale

What should Urdu textbooks contain? As I see it, there are two approaches to bringing about change:

1. The Radical Approach
2. The Pragmatic Approach

1. The Radical Approach

The Radical approach rests on the assumption that the aim of education should be to create a modern citizen aware of the value of peace, human rights, gender equality, environmental issues and so on. These objectives have been given in NISAB-e-Urdu (Revised) in detail.

For this purpose language textbooks will contain lessons by famous literary figures only. They will not contain essays written by non-literary writers and subjects which can be covered elsewhere. This means that most of the lessons on history, Islam, environment etc will be transferred to the textbooks of those specific subjects.

Since this involves the selection of new lessons for textbooks, it has not been done yet. However, it is not very difficult because there are lessons of this kind and a textbook writer can collect them and put them together if necessary. The names of the following writers are being given here for guidance of the textbook writer who chooses to create textbooks along radical lines:

- Pandit Ratan Nath Sarshar (Extracts from Fasana-e-Azad).
- Munshi Premchand (Short stories for all levels).
- Rashid ul Khairi (Pro-women stories; social stories).
- Imtiaz Ali Taj (*'Chacha Chakkan'*).
- Farhatullah Beg (Essays).
- Agha Hashar (Plays for senior levels).
- Pitras Bukhari (Humorous essays for 8th, 9th and 10th).
- Azeem Beg Chughtai (Easy stories or extracts from longer works).
- Shaukat Thanwi (Play 'Qazi Ji' or extracts from novels).
- Rajinder Singh Bedi (Short stories)
- Ashfaq Ahmed (Short stories)
- Bano Qudsia (Short stories)
- Shafiq ur Rahman (*Himaqaten, Mazeed Himaqaten* – extracts for all levels).
- Colonel Muhammad Khan (Extracts from works)
- Ibn-e-Insha (*Urdu ki Akhri Kitab, Khumar-e-Gundum*).
- Mumtaz Mufti (Extracts from novels, short sketches *Okhe Log*).
- Sa'adat Hasan Manto (Short stories for 9th & 10th).
- Ahmed Nadeem Qasmi (Short stories for 9th & 10th).
- Shaukat Siddiqui (Extracts from *Khuda ki Basti*).
- Mustansar Hussain Tarar (Travelogues)

In poetry both the ghazal and the *nazm* must be taught. Only well known poets, including Soofi Ghulam Mustafa Tabussum, should be taught. Poems specifically meant for children as well as humorous poems, such as those of Syed Zamir Jafri, should be taught.

2. The Pragmatic Appraoch

The second approach rests on the pragmatic assumption that the educational authorities may not yet be ready for bringing about such a radical change as proposed above. They may, however, concede that very inaccurate, distorted, offensive and polemical pieces or passages may be deleted, reworded or changed in some other way, something that can be easily done by a few honest educationists.

Apart from items falling in the above category I also suggest the removal of those items which really belong to another existing subject such as history or Islamic Studies in an obvious way.

Moreover, I suggest removing some lessons (such as those on military personalities) because they are taught in a way which promotes aggression and the glorification of war. In doing so I am mindful of the fact that school masters in government schools tend to glorify war anyway and such lessons help them do so conveniently. Thus, it is not so much the nature of the lesson but the potential of its being misused that has warranted its deletion.

Note 2

Teaching of Social Studies: Class 6 to 10

Hajra Ahmed

Unfortunate are the Pakistani students who are forced to follow the social studies curriculum and textbooks designed by the Ministry of Education and the Textbook Boards. In contrast, students from the affluent sections of the society who can afford to go to elite English Medium schools aiming for O and A level examinations of the British universities are extremely fortunate to be exposed to an exceedingly interesting and enlightening material in the discipline of social studies.

This chapter present a critique of the Social Studies textbooks for classes 6-10 that were published by the Punjab Textbook Board in March 2002.

The critique is divided into two parts; first on books for classes 6 to 8, and then for those for classes 9 and 10.

In each case, there is first a general observation on the books, which is followed by a detailed criticism. An alternative content that could enrich the students is then offered.

Classes 6-8 Social Studies Textbooks

General Observations

on Social Studies textbooks for Classes 6, 7 and 8, Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore, March 2002

- Strong religious and national prejudices
- Historical omissions
- Polemical – lacking facts and examples
- No reasoned analysis
- Lack of breadth – narrow focus on Pakistan and the Muslim world only.
- Pedagogical problems

Detailed Comments

1. Social Studies Class 6

Critique

Chapter 1 South Asia

This chapter has serious omissions as pointed out below:

- India being the largest country of South Asia needs more than just a passing mention
- Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Sri Lanka, Nepal should also be mentioned
- A map showing all these countries in South Asia should be included.

Chapter 11

Page 79 Under the subheading 'The Children of Bharat' the first two sentences are highly exaggerated and should be replaced by a more realistic description like
'the dress of Muslim and Hindu children are often quite similar. However, many Hindus prefer to wear dhotis while the Muslims prefer shalwar pyjama.

Chapters 12 – 19
Chapters 12 – 19 are pedagogically and academically not suitable for the children at this level. These topics/themes should be and in fact are included in the syllabus of classes 9 and 10. The contents of these chapters, however, need major revision to make the historical account more balanced and objective.

Alternative

Chapters 1- 11 may be retained but with the above suggested changes.

To replace Chapters 12 – 19, the following key topics/themes in history may be included in Class 6:

I. Understanding Our Past

- History and Geography - how they are linked.
- How do we know? Sources in history – archaeology, anthropology, oral and written accounts.

II. Measuring Time

- BC, AD, Muslim, Chinese and other calendars.
- Periods in history – chronological – ancient, medieval, modern

III. Early Civilizations

- Indus Valley
- Mesopotamia
- Egypt
- China
- Early Greece
- Rome
- Persian Empire

(to be done as a comparative study of the key features of each civilization)

2. Social Studies Class 7

Critique

This is a particularly bad one in the series of three middle school social studies textbooks and cannot be improved just by a few changes here and there. The problems are listed below:

- The contents of the book are very narrowly focused on the Muslim world and the account is very one sided.
- National and religious prejudices pervade the book.
- Even land features and climate are classified on the basis of religion!
- There are problems of historical omissions.
- Topics within some chapters are disjointed with no continuity or linkage.

Alternative

Following are some of the themes/topics that may be taught at this level:

I. Major religions in the world today – a comparative study.
the main features
brief history
rise and fall

II. The Middle Ages – the feudal system
1000- 1500
- The Renaissance – 1500
- The Reformation – 1500-1600
- Muslim Rule in India
- Ottoman and Safavid empires – 1453-1629

3. Social Studies Class 8

Critique

Several chapters in this book contain material that is dealt with in Pakistan Studies syllabus of Classes 9 and 10 in detail. Therefore, it is better to remove them from class 8 and include topics that will enhance the general knowledge of the students and give them a wider perspective on history and world affairs.

Alternative

In view of this, it is recommended that **chapters 7, 8, 9 and 12 be removed and replaced with the following topics:**

I. Industrial Revolution
II. Nationalism and Revolution Around the World (1910-1939)
III. Colonialism, World War 1 and World War 2
IV. The World since 1945 – an overview

All the remaining chapters may be retained but with the following revisions:

- In **Chapter 5** population of each city should be mentioned.
- In **Chapter 11**, the reference to God in the introduction is unnecessary

- On **pg. 105** of the same chapter, destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki is referred to as a 'minor manifestation of the dark aspect of atomic energy'. This is a highly prejudiced statement and needs to be corrected.
- On **pg. 107** under 'Atomic Energy' the potential hazards of nuclear power plants and use of nuclear energy need to be explained.
- On **pg. 111** under 'Internationalism/globalisation' the current debate over the adverse effects of globalisation should be incorporated.
- The last subtopic, **Fifty Years of our freedom and our People'** should be **removed** as it does not quite fit in here.

- Problems and challenges related to **energy resources, space exploration, environment, nuclear weapons and genetic engineering need to be added to this chapter.**

Pakistan Studies Classes 9 and 10

Suggested Aims and Objectives of the syllabus

- To provide an understanding and appreciation of the cultural, historical and socio-political heritage of Pakistan with a view to instil in the students a sense of ownership of their history and heritage together with its achievements, accomplishments, mistakes, failures and complexities.
- To encourage students to develop analytical and interpretative skills and challenge them to evaluate, discuss and debate points arising from the syllabus content in a balanced and reasoned manner.
- To give students an insight into the origins, creation and development of Pakistan down to recent times.
- To encourage students to learn about and discuss issues which face Pakistan constructively but critically.
- To obtain a broad understanding of Pakistan's relations with its neighbours and the rest of the world.
- To cultivate a peaceful approach to conflict resolution in politics and society.

Students should be assessed for their attainment in each of the following three fundamental objectives in the following weighting:

- Ability to demonstrate **knowledge** of the material specified in the syllabus 60%
- Ability to show **understanding** of the historical and cultural development of Pakistan.15%
- Ability to **analyse** and **evaluate** differing interpretations and points of view relating to the material specified in the syllabus.25%

Note: Most of the points above are derived from Cambridge University's Pakistan Studies syllabus for O levels.

Note 3

Peace Studies: A Proposed Program of Studies

Zarina Salamat

Peace building and conflict resolution are non-trivial exercises. Tolerance and forbearance require cultivation of minds and attitudes. It is all too easy to destroy peace within a society or between societies by raising jingoistic passions, the first casualty of which is tolerance. Resolving conflicts, be they between individuals, groups or nations, peacefully by interaction and dialogue is also something that does not come to humans naturally, and requires training.

Peace being an absolute necessity for a society like Pakistan, it is essential that peace building and conflict resolutions are taught to the young minds from early years as an essential component of their formal program of studies. The following are proposals for promoting peace and highlighting the negative effects of violence and war.

The general objectives of the program to promote peace education would be:

1. To let students know about the inhumanity of violence and brutality of war, the happiness of peace, and the value and dignity of life.
2. To enable students study the causes of violence and war and understand the forces and essential qualities that bring them about.
3. To assess and increase the capacity for maintaining peace in their immediate surroundings, in the area where they live, in the country and in the world

Peace education can be a part of social studies, language learning, natural science, art, physical education and other curricular and extra-curricular activities.

Peace education maybe conducted in all subjects but, to begin with, can be limited to essentially three areas: social studies, languages and natural science.

Peace education can be designed for all levels and stages of development of children, from nursery through elementary level to middle and higher levels, so that it enriches the school curriculum. Special classes may be designed at all levels.

Peace curriculum can begin with rights and duties and responsibilities at lower classes and leading at higher classes to rights of citizens and to an elaborate charter of Rights

Teaching material can relate to school textbooks used at different levels. It can also include picture books, story books, poems, special pamphlets and audio visual aids.

Draft Program of Studies for Peace Education

A. Pre Class I

General Objectives

1) To teach children to love and trust humanity
2) To cultivate through reading of picture books the feeling that life is precious, peace is important, violence and war destroy life and peace
3) Help children realize importance of peace and reality of violence and war through the use of audio visual aids, and make them feel value of life with their entire body.
4) Have children express their feelings after talking or reading about of stories of violence and war.
5) Rights of individual child be conveyed in various activities.
6) Duties and responsibilities be given to children as taking care of books, doing homework, keeping classroom clean etc:

Particular objective

1) Help children to form close and trusting relationship with family, teacher and friends
2) Make non-violence familiar by reading books and allowing the child to identify with the main character.
3) Help child to experience preciousness of life and Importance of peace with whole body through use of books which feature children's favourite animals as their main characters.
4) Involve parents and teachers to work together to promote peace education
5) Use visual aids as pictures, movies and Television to portray violence and war.
6) Have children express their feelings about peace and violence in pictures and have dramatize what they learned.
7) Instill in the children at the early age to be part of group by giving them responsibilities and duties and what their rights can be.

B. Classes I and II

General Objectives

1) Train children to get rid of wrong image of getting their rights through violence. As responsible members of class/group /society differences can be settled through sitting together and other peaceful means.
2) Islam and other religion teach sanctity of life and importance of peace.
3) Use of literary means to teach them reality of brutality and cruelty of war
4) Help children to understand what atom bomb and nuclear war is through photographs
5) Rights and responsibilities of children as part of group / school and society be emphasized, by teaching them children's right to food, right to learn/education and to grow up in a nuclear free world.
6) Have them draw images of violence, brutality and war and express their feelings or write about the same.

Observations

1) Children should be made to learn that spectacular scenes of violence shown on television are created for special effect and have no relation to the reality of violence and bloodshed.
2) Help them understand importance of peace through discussion

3) Responsibilities and duties be assigned to children in school and teach them that they also have rights.

C. Classes III and IV

General Objectives

1) Find out level of children's interest and knowledge about violence around them and help them to form a positive attitude towards peace.
2) Help them to appreciate peace and how they can promote peace around them and to be responsible for peace.
3) The should learn tht the need for peace does not mean to subdue all dissenting voices
4) Conflict can be a constructive issue
5) Teac them about the damage that is caused by brutality and to identify violence to be something close to them.
6) In the field of social science teach them the tragedy of war, in particular the devastation caused by nuclear weapons.

Particular objectives

1) Have children talk about images of violence and war and the damage caused by it.
2) Help them understand that it is the weak and the common people who suffer the most in such eventualities.
3) Duties in cases of violence be discussed.
4) Responsibilities in respect of families and home should be emphasized as the places to begin peace activities

D. Classes V and VI

General Objectives

1) Teach them that peace is just not absence of war in society. Nor is it easy to maintain it.
2) Help them to adopt good attitude towards peace and against violence and war.
3) Unrestrained violence can be problematic.
4) War and conflict affect the women and children deeply. No section of society can remain untouched by war
5) Explain the inhumanity of nuclear war and the damage it can cause and its possibility.
6) Right, duties and responsibilities of children towards their country be made part of their studies.
7) Social Studies must include Colonial occupation by the west and the damage it caused to the sub Continent and other countries.

Particular objectives

1) Let them know that there are two sides to all conflicts and peace is not something that can be kept by others. It has to be collective effort
2) Pupils be made to express their feelings in discussion

E. Classes VII and VIII

General Objectives

1) Teach them significance of peace education in which they learn to abhor violence and how to avoid it
2) It must be repeatedly emphasized that peace does not mean to be against all dissenting voices.
3) Wars in 20th Century fought between imperialism and socialism be made part of Social Studies.
4) Learn that war is no longer what it used to be. We can no longer think of war and nuclear problems separately. They should be taught about Hiroshima and the destruction it

caused. Teach them that if the same amount of cost that is spent on nuclear development is diverted to our social development the country it would have lead to great advancement of the people and the country
5) Teach them part of Constitution with clauses about peace security of the country.
6) Right and duties of citizens.

Observations
1) Peace activity be organized as demonstration and expression of their ideas of peace.
2)
3) Peace studies for Class IX and X
4) Subject: 1) Teach them about peace movements that have come about particularly as a result of nuclear dangers. 2 Scientific study of A Bomb as threat to mankind.
5) The back ground of Hiroshima on August 6th and Nagasaki on August 9th and the destruction caused by the A bomb. The suffering of A bomb victims
6) Cold war following the WWII and race for arms Development of neutron, Hydrogen bombs and Inter continental Missiles. The nuclear weapons are not traditional weapons. They are related to total extermination of mankind.
7) lesson be given on quality and quantity of development of nuclear weapons
8) World movement against Nuclear weapons.
9) U.N Charter NGO role to stop Nuclear Weapons.

General Observation: Have the pupils systematically review what they have learned and think what they have done for peace.

Final comment: Sectarian violence must find place in peace studies.
Books and literature be marked out for part of studies on peace, for example, works by Intezar Husain and Sahir Ludhianvi.

Note 4

Thoughts on Curriculum Objectives

Mohammad Pervez and Anis Alam

The curriculum objectives in Pakistan must be laid down in the context of the Pakistani nation, which represents citizens of this modern nation state. The citizens of Pakistan have diversity of languages, customs, cultures, sects, ethnicity and faiths which they cherish and wish to cultivate.

A curriculum should be aimed at facilitating realization of creative potentials of its citizens and making them fully functioning human beings who are able to play their productive roles in social and economic development of a country.

Aims of Education

1. To prepare students for a prosperous and peaceful future by inculcating in them socially useful skills as well as values of peace and peaceful co-existence with all citizens of the country and all countries of the world.

2. To prepare citizens who are cognizant of

   i. Their history, culture, traditions and values.
   ii. Their rights and duties with emphasis upon human rights, rights of women, rights of children and rights of minorities.
   iii. Their physical, cultural, social, and cosmic environment.
   iv. Great diversity of people, culture, languages, and geographical conditions in Pakistan.
   v. Unity of all humanity despites differences of nationality, ethnicity, gender, sect, creed, colour, dress, food, customs and appearances.
   vi. Problems of pollution and population in the global earth.

3. To produce skills that are needed

   i. To think critically, and analyze objectively and rationally.
   ii. To develop curiosity so that students become fond of learning for its own sake.
   iii. To transform available raw materials into useful goods and services.
   iv. To offer marketable human resources acquired through education.

v. To manage and administer a diversified society (urban/ rural, nomadic/agrarian, industrial/service).

vi. To continue a life long education and learning.

vii. For living with people of different appearance, custom, language, culture, and faith.

viii. To be able to adopt a vocation or a professional that one desires to espouse.

Appendices

Appendix I

List of Curriculum Documents Covered

(a) Curriculum Document, Primary Education, Class K-V, Integrated and Subject based, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1995

(b) National Curriculum, Social Studies for Classes I-V, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing) Islamabad, March 2002

(c) Early Childhood Education (ECE), National ECE Curriculum, March 2002

(d) Integrated Curriculum, Classes I – III, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

(e) Urdu Curriculum (First language) for Classes IV and V, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

(f) Social Studies Curriculum for Classes VI – VIII, National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, 1984

(g) Pakistan Studies Curriculum for Classes IX-X, 1986

(h) Pakistan Studies Curriculum for Classes XI-XII, National Curriculum Committee, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Islamabad, 1986.

(i) Urdu Curriculum (first and second language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 1986.

(j) Urdu Curriculum (first language) for classes VI-VIII, National Bureau of Curriculum, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, 2002

(k) Urdu Curriculum (Compulsory, optional and Easy course), Classes IX and X, National Bureau of Curriculum and Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1988

(l) Urdu Curriculum (Compulsory) for Classes IX – X, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

(m) Urdu Curriculum (Optional) for Classes IX – X, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

(n) Urdu Curriculum (Compulsory) for Classes XI – XII, Ministry of Education, National Bureau of Curriculum, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

(o) Urdu Curriculum (Optional) for Classes XI – XII, Ministry of Education, National Bureau of Curriculum, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, March 2002

(p) English Curriculum for Classes IX-X, National Curriculum Committee, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Islamabad, 1986.

(q) National Curriculum, Pakistan Studies for classes IX-X, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing), Islamabad, 2002

(r) National Curriculum, Pakistan Studies for classes XI-XII, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education (Curriculum Wing), Islamabad, 2002

(s) National Curriculum English (Compulsory) for Class XI-XII, March 2002

(t) National Curriculum English (elective) for Class XI-XII, March 2002

(u) National Curriculum CIVICS for classes IX – X, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002.

(v) National Curriculum CIVICS for classes XI – XII, Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, Curriculum Wing, Islamabad, March 2002.

Appendix II

Participants in the project

In alphabetical order

1. Professor Syed Qamar Abbas, Department of History, Punjab University, Lahore.
2. Sabir Afaqi, Professor of Pakistan Studies (retd), University of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Muzaffarabad
3. Hajra Ahmad, Principal, Khaldunia High School, Islamabad
4. Dr. Syed Jaffar Ahmed, Professor, Pakistan Studies Centre, University of Karachi, Karachi
5. Dr. Khalil Ahmed, Department of Philosophy, Government College of Education, Lahore
6. Dr. Anis Alam, Professor of Physics, Punjab University, Lahore
7. Mohsin Babbar, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Diplomatic Enclave, Islamabad.
8. Kalpana Devi, Advocate, Mohallah Jarral Shah, Larkana
9. Sibte Hasan, formerly with the Punjab Textbook Board, Lahore as author and editor of textbooks.
10. Dr. Khurshid Hasanain, Professor of Physics, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad
11. Neelam Hussain, Simorgh, Lahore
12. Ayesha Inayat, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Diplomatic Enclave, Islamabad.
13. Dr. Sarfraz Khan, Professor, Area Studies Centre, University of Peshawar, Peshawar
14. Arfana Mallah: ASR, Khurram Square, Saddar, Hyderabad.
15. Aamna Mattu, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Diplomatic Enclave, Islamabad.
16. Fatima Mujtaba, Beaconhouse School, Islamabad
17. Haroon Nasir, Christian Study Centre, Murree Road, Rawalpindi.
18. Tahira Naqvi, Beaconhouse School, Islamabad
19. Dr. A. H. Nayyar, Research Fellow, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad.
20. Dr. M. Pervez, Professor, National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.
21. Dr. Seema Pervez, Professor, National Institute of Psychology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.
22. Dr. Tariq Rahman, Professor of Linguistics, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.
23. Professor Bahadur Khan Rodani, Director, Pakistan Studies Centre, Balochistan University, Quetta; former Vice-Chancellor, Balochistan University, Quetta

24. Mahboob Sada, Director, Christian Study Centre, Murree Road, Rawalpindi.
25. Dr. Zarina Salamat, Retired Historian from National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad.
26. Ahmed Salim, Director Urdu Publications, Sustainable Development Policy Institute, Islamabad
27. Dr. Rubina Saigol, Private Consultant, Gender, Human Rights and Education, formerly with Society for the Advancement of Education, Lahore
28. Prem Shevani: THARDEEP, 58-B, PECHS, Karachi
29. Nadeem Omar Tarar, Assistant Professor, National College of the Arts, Lahore